National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXII. NO. 50. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1862. WHOLE NO. 1,142.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 5 Beekman Street, New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

PRO-SLAVERY MUTTERINGS.

Washington Correspondence of The Express.

EXTREME men, who are running the machine of party, surveyed their ground well before they laid out their plan. They knew their scheme would not be baulked at the White House before they put it upon Congress. Those men know well that the power of the Republican party is in their hands. They have understood this for a long time; and, like good tacticians, they have used their advantage effectively to develop their dogmas. A very striking illustration of their adroitness in this respect is furnished by their prevention of compromise in the last Congress (from which the present war has resulted). Other illustrations are afforded by their success in securing or controlling Administration appointments. More eminent than all the preceding, however, is that which is now seen in the District of Columbia Abolition Act. Kindred with this is the emancipation, *pari passu* with the advance of our army, already going on in parts of the South, soon, in realization of an intimation in the Message of President Lincoln, to be accelerated and made complete universally, in spite of whatever conflict the measure may impart with asserted State or individual rights, as they existed in the Union as it was. To this event of things, this climax of the policy of ultraists, we are undoubtedly fast hastening. Love for the Union has, under the war measures which have been adopted, to which the loyal have committed themselves, so bound loyal and national men to the support of the government, that they are placed in a position from which they cannot extricate themselves, no matter how adverse to their past or present convictions the uses to which the strength they supply be put. Though their master go into the house of Rimmon, and bow himself there, they have to sustain him and execute his pleasure. It has become manifest that all talk about the restoration of the Union as it was, under the Constitution as it is, is idle. For the real political power that is now shaping our destiny, it has no meaning. That power has placed us beyond any possibility of such a consummation, and neither intends nor will suffer a return. A kingdom of freedom—freedom for blacks, of oppression and slavery of white men—is the goal at which we are to be brought up at last. The great power, the ultras so will; it is their policy; and, having control of the machine that is shaping the nation's ends, it were folly to suppose that they will not run it to suit themselves. The following paragraph in the President's late Message is very pregnant of a meaning, which they claim time will develop in the formal adoption and promulgation of their policy:

"If resistance continues, the war must also continue, and *it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend, and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously promise great efficiency toward ending the struggle, must and will come.*"

They assert, indeed, that the whole Message, with the resolution which it embodied, and recommended to Congress, was intended as a warning to loyal men, in the Border States more particularly, that the time is likely to be drawing on when it may "seem" necessary, as "an indispensable means to be employed," to make emancipation and the advance of the army go hand in hand, and that they therefore had best consult their interests by availing themselves of the benefits of the proposed measure—make the emancipation for their States to be with recompense. Whilst doctors outside have differed as to what that Message did really import, these men have been in unity among themselves in respect to it, and they, as I have stated it, give its meaning.

In this revelation, I suppose I divulge no such special army news as to incur any of Secretary Stanton's penalties. It seemed to me proper thus to let our friends know what is expected to be the end of the entertainment to which we have given ourselves, by those who are leading us, and are to shape that end.

A BALTIMOREAN'S WORD.

From The New York Observer.

BALTIMORE, April 4, 1862.

MESSRS. EDITORS: You must allow me to say that I endorse your article* in this week's paper on "*Mobs*"; you touch the right spring. I hate disunion under any and every guise, whether it be secessionism or abolitionism. Treason is odious, no matter in what latitude it is hatching, whether in Charleston or Boston, St. Louis or New York. No matter how it is developed, whether it be in the *murder of the members of the Massachusetts 6th, in the streets of Baltimore, on the 19th of April*, or in the rabid utterances of Wendell Phillips or Horace Greeley and their coadjutors.

I am a loyal man; always have been, for which I thank God, and I do most earnestly pray to God that I ever may be. My creed is, *down with the rebellion at any cost that consists with truth and justice.* But I do hold that "the powers that be" are bound by every obligation that men should hold sacred, and which makes rulers a praise to the good and esteem to the evil, to throttle with the iron hand of the law, the man who dares to utter treason, let his home be where it may, whether it be under the shadow of Bunker Hill or among the everglades of Florida.

UNION.

* The infamous article here alluded to appeared under this head in THE STANDARD of April 12.—*Ed.*

BIRDS OF A FEATHER.

From Bennett's Herald.

THE Reverend Cheever fiercely attacks the Hon. Andy Johnson, the military Governor of Tennessee, and says that his acts are unconstitutional. How much Brother Cheever reverences that "compact with death and bond with hell," which we call the Constitution, and how zealously he defends it from the attacks of the President and the Hon. Andy Johnson! But Cheever never did like the Union Johnson, but always preferred the rebel Johnstons, one of whom is reported killed. Our Johnson is trying to restore Tennessee to the Union, and of course Cheever cannot approve of that, but declares it unconstitutional. The rebel Johnston is trying to break up the Union, and of course Cheever thinks that strictly constitutional, and endorses it. Constitutional Cheever! He ought to be supplied with a comfortable home at the national expense, in the smallest cell of the lowest tier of Fort Lafayette for the rest of his life, already unconstitutionally long.

THE ANNIVERSARIES.

From Bennett's Herald.

AS the moving times of May approach, the anti-slavery folks are evidently making the greatest efforts to get up their anniversary meetings in grand style this year. The purely religious meetings will, from present prospects, be most tame, and the collections taken up will average more old buttons than half-pence; for very few have any money to give this year, and those who have the money have very little inclination to part with it. But, though religious societies will suffer, abolition societies will prosper. There never was a more favorable time than this for the anti-slavery orators. Our police is so vigilant and efficient, and our people so accustomed to abolition howlings, that there need be no fear of mobs. Garrison, Phillips, Cheever and the rest of the fanatics may come here and denounce the Constitution, the government and the army *ad libitum*. Nobody cares for them or will harm them. New York city is getting too intelligent for mobs. We leave such disturbances to country villages like Cincinnati and Burlington. Let us have the anti-slavery speeches, then, and pass around the abolition saucer in the merry month of May.

Selections.

LEEDS YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-SLAVERY DEMONSTRATION.

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON ON THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

From The Leeds (Eng.) Mercury, March 26.

THE annual demonstration of the Leeds Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society was held last night in the Music-hall. Notwithstanding the exceedingly wet and cold evening, there was a numerous audience, and the proceedings were of a deeply interesting character. The Mayor was expected to preside, but, being unavoidably detained in London, his Worship was unable to attend. The Rev. Dr. CROFTS (United Methodist Free Church) was therefore called to the chair; and there were also present Mr. Geo. Thompson, who has so long advocated the rights of the slave; Mr. Wm. Craft, an escaped slave; the Rev. A. Barry, B.D., the Rev. J. Blomefield, M.A., the Rev. Dr. Brewer, the Rev. W. T. Radcliffe, the Rev. N. Brown, Mr. Wyld, Mr. J. Lupton, Mr. Donisthorpe, Mr. E. Morgan, Mr. W. H. Pullen, Mr. J. Walker, and Mr. George Flint, hon. secretaries, etc.

The Rev. J. BLOMEFIELD having offered up prayer.

The CHAIRMAN briefly addressed the meeting, and, after expressing regret that the Mayor was unable to be present, said he was glad to hear that the British heart was still in the right place on the subject of slavery—that it still beat with high hopes for the speedy extinction of this sum of all villanies (hear). Slavery had received a blow in America from which he trusted it would never recover. Had any one told him, only six months ago, that the President of the United States would send a message to Congress asking them to do away with slavery gradually by the payment of a large sum of money, he should never have thought it possible. So, however, it was; and who could tell what would be the result of that message? One thing was certain—the subject would now have to be discussed in the American Senate, and there would be found some—a Sumner and others of like spirit—who would not fail to speak out upon the tremendous evil with which that country was so deeply afflicted (hear). All the bloodshed, all the misery, all the expense of the war in America, had their root in this accursed evil of slavery. Had slavery never cursed that country, they would never have heard of this giant war (applause). The Chairman then referred to the danger which at one time existed of England being drawn into the struggle, congratulated the meeting that there were wise and able men at the helm of affairs, who averted this danger, and concluded by appealing to them never to rest until the children of men shall be free throughout the whole world (applause).

Mr. JAS. WALKER, one of the hon. secretaries, read the report, which gave a rapid sketch of the operations of the society during the past year. As the result of Dr. Cheever's visit, the committee reported that a sum of about £100 was raised to aid him in his work. They had since received a letter from Dr. Cheever, gratefully acknowleding the assistance rendered, and informing them that he had now entirely succeeded in placing his pulpit, church and people, beyond the despotic influence of a slaveholding religion. The total income of the society during the year was £90 0s. 9d., and the expenditure £103 9s. 3d., leaving a balance due to the treasurer of £13 8s. 6d.

The Rev. W. T. RADCLIFFE (Wesleyan) moved the following resolution:

"That freedom being the gift of God, it is the inalienable right of every man; that to deprive a man of this right is a violation of natural justice, an infringement on the laws of God and the equal rights of man, and that therefore, recognizing the universal brotherhood of mankind, we regard slavery as a great social evil meriting condemnation, and justifying every moral and legitimate means used to accomplish its overthrow."

The true policy of a nation, he observed, was that of abolition, and he was glad to see indications that the Americans were beginning to perceive that their true national policy was to have everybody free and nobody enslaved (applause). Looking at the past history of the United States, they had abundant evidence that it would have been much better if that nation had paid down, as their mother England did, the price of the slaves' freedom, and thus have avoided the disgrace of Bull Run, their sons being slain in battle, their homes darkened by bereavement, and a great national debt that would press upon them, he supposed, as long as they continued a nation (hear, hear). The United States would never attain the respect of other nations until they became consistent with their own favorite maxim "that all men are born equal," and abolished slavery (cheers).

The Rev. Dr. BREWER briefly seconded the resolution, and adverted to the readiness with which the people of America had received the proposal of President Lincoln, which he believed would give to slavery in that country a blow from which it would not be possible it could long survive (applause).

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, on being introduced to the meeting, was warmly applauded. He said he perfectly agreed with the suggestion of the Chairman and of Dr. Brewer, that it would have been well if the people of Leeds could have been called together in the largest building which adorned their town to offer to President Lincoln their congratulations upon the exhibition he had made at once of his attachment to the cause of humanity and of his moral courage in sending to Congress the Message which had recently reached this country (applause). It was more than he dare do to trust himself to comment upon the events that were foreshadowed by the promulgation of that Message, carried back as his thoughts were to the early days of the abolition struggle in the United States, in which he had the distinguished honor to bear "the pitiless pelting of that terrific storm" which overtook those who dared to say that slavery was inconsistent with the democratic principles of the American Republic, and also inconsistent with the teachings of Christianity (cheers). He would submit to the meeting a resolution, leaving them to judge of the feelings of those who saw the dawning of that day which now draws near its meridian, and which he believed would soon shine upon the habitations of those who have been slaves, illumining their uncompensated toil, and enlightening their path in the noble pursuits of freedom (applause). The resolution he had to propose was as follows:

"That this meeting hails with heartfelt satisfaction, and with a joyful hope of its ultimate complete success, the humane and enlightened proposition which, 'in full view of his responsibility to God and to his country,' President Lincoln has recently laid before the Congress of the United States, on the subject of slavery—which proposition has already been adopted by the House of Representatives—and, earnestly trusting that it may be as cordially adopted by the Senate, prays that, under the blessings of Divine Providence, its practical effect may be—the cessation of the horrors of civil war, the restoration of national harmony, and the speedy emancipation of all in America hitherto held in unjust bondage."

The Leeds *Mercury* (Mr. Thompson proceeded)—always an enlightened, a strenuous, and most able and consistent advocate of the great cause of negro emancipation (applause)—has styled this Message "the most important event that has occurred since the outbreak of the conflict" which has taken place in America. No description could be a truer one. It is an event of unspeakable moment—fraught with the issues both of peace and war, and with the destinies both of the living and future generations. It is an event which will carry gladness to the hearts of the friends of justice, truth and freedom throughout the world. It is an event which inaugurates a new era in the history of the Republic of America. It is an event which will enlist on the side of the wise and good man who is at the head of the government of the United States, the sympathy and moral support of all the peoples and governments of the civilized world (applause). The Message, in substance, is simply this—"I, Abraham Lincoln, in full view of my responsibilities to God and to my country, do recommend to you, the Congress of the United States, the initiative movement in a great work for the emancipation of every slave now within the Union, and the freedom of every slave, in every territory, that may hereafter be annexed to the Union" (applause). May He who put it into the head of Mr. Lincoln to pen this message, incline the hearts of the Congress to adopt it; and so order events, that such practical results may flow from it, as shall realize the hopes of the oppressed, and justify the expectations which have been begotten by a document equally conspicuous for its wisdom and its beneficence (hear, hear). It was not to be conceived that Mr. Lincoln, whatever other motives he may have had in preparing his message, could have regarded slavery as otherwise than immoral, and, on abstract grounds, unlawful and indefensible. Like everything else that had emanated from the same pen, there was a studious avoidance of any recognition of slavery, as a thing to be tolerated on moral grounds. While there was a manifest desire, nay, the expression of a fixed determination, to keep within the limits of constitutional authority, and to vindicate, to the last, the rights of the individual States, there was equally apparent a conviction that, in the event of a contumacious adherence to the institution of slavery, the institution itself is a thing to be dealt with as an evil, a crime, and a curse—to be swept away if it should be found to impede the progress of the movement, the objects of which are, the reintegration of the Union, and the reestablishment of the Constitution upon a just and permanent basis (hear, hear). The objects proclaimed by Mr. Lincoln had always been strictly constitutional. In the estimation of many, he has allowed his jealous regard for the rights of the slave States under the Constitution to betray him into concessions which the Constitution did not require. In this Message he exhibited the same attachment to the Constitution, and left the acceptance or rejection of the proposed scheme a matter of the most absolute free choice on the part of the individual States. Nevertheless, he avows a deliberate purpose. While he avoids an infraction of the Constitution on the one hand, he asserts his intention to maintain it on the other, and to achieve every object, which, as its sworn servant and defender, he is bound to carry into accomplishment. The authority of the Constitution has been overthrown. It is his duty to restore that authority in every part of the national domain. The destruction of the government, of which he is the elected chief, has been contrived. It is his duty to preserve the existence of that government. The States over which he was called to administer have been treasonably disrupted. It is his duty to reunite them, and to preserve them a plural unit. The laws, which as chief magistrate he is called to enforce, have been defied and violated. It is his duty to make them respected, and to uphold their authority. A large part of that property which belonged to the whole people, and which only the loyal among the people had any right to, had been seized by traitors, and divided to traitorous purposes. It is his duty to reclaim that property, and place it again in the hands of its rightful owners (applause). To enable him to accomplish these objects, twenty-two million of the people have promised him their support. They have supplied him with 750,000 men—they have pledged as many more as may be required—they have furnished money with unexampled readiness and unexampled abundance, and have asked only that in the name of the Constitution and the Union he should march right onward, until the slaveholders' rebellion is crushed, and the republic, founded by Washington, restored to its former proportions and symmetry. As slavery was the sole cause of the war, so slavery is the sole impediment to the return of peace. The slave States only have rebelled. Slave-owners are alone the men who seek the destruction of the free institutions of the country. Slavery, and slavery alone, is the object they have in view—the extension, nationalization, and perpetuity of slavery. They have based their government on slavery—they have made slavery its foundation, its corner stone, and its coping stone. They have staked their all in behalf of their alleged right to make merchandise of the bodies and souls of men. With slavery, therefore, Mr. Lincoln has to deal, and how he proposes to deal with it is shown in the message which accompanies the resolution recommended to the adoption of Congress. His arguments are patriotic and constitutional. He does not assert the inherent injustice of slavery, and on that ground claim a right to interfere with it. But he asserts a right to do certain constitutional acts, in the doing of which he must of necessity meet and dispose of the question of slavery (hear, hear). "The life of the nation," he says, "must be preserved—the government must be maintained—the Union must be recemented—the rebellion must be crushed, and the Constitution reëstablished. Whatever is indispensable to the attainment of these ends must be done, and I will do it, whatever may be the consequences. While resistance is offered the war will be continued, whatever the incidents that may attend it, whatever the ruin that may follow it" (applause). But he is desirous to avoid the incidents and avert the ruin. He, therefore, proposes certain terms as the basis of peace and union. While he makes the offer to all the slave States, he submits it in the first instance to the Border States. He says "The rebellion, which was exclusively the offspring of the cotton States of the far South, never would have been brought to maturity and developed in disunion, but for the reliance placed upon the adhesion of the more northern of the slave States. If you, the Border States, will return to your allegiance, and associate your institutions to those of the free States, you shall have such pecuniary aid as will enable you to change your system without loss and without inconvenience either public or private. The United States will coöperate with you and share the burden you may be called to bear." To the people of the Union at large he says, "You are at present prosecuting a costly war, demanding the expenditure of vast amounts of treasure, while at the same time it is destructive of an appalling amount of human life, and incalculably injurious to your trade and commerce. Consent to this measure of adjustment, and the current expenses of the war you are waging will soon enable you to purchase the freedom of any State embracing the offer which is made to all." Mr. Lincoln is strong in the well-grounded belief that if, by the abolition of slavery, the Border States were forever divorced from their sister States to the farther South, the latter would abandon all hope of ultimate success, and the great rebellion be brought to an end (hear, hear). Finally, Mr. Lincoln puts it to the whole of the slaveholding States to say, each for itself, whether the pecuniary consideration offered them would not be of more value to their interests as States and to the individuals dwelling within them, than the maintenance of the institution of slavery in the present aspect of affairs. What that aspect of affairs was, they knew. The war was to be continued as long as resistance to the reëstablishment of Federal authority is offered, and the slave States were distinctly told that in the last resort recourse would be had to measures which might involve those States in irretrievable ruin. Already the Senate had passed a bill prohibiting the Generals and officers in the Federal army from restoring fugitive slaves (applause). Gen. Fremont, too, was again in command of a division of the army, and he ventured to predict that nevermore would one of his proclamations be disavowed by the President of the United States (applause). They might ask what would be the probable result to those slave States that rejected this offer? Would they be allowed to separate and set up for themselves? Never! *The Times* and other journals were endeavoring to produce the impression that Mr. Lincoln, by this message, was only preparing for the recognition of the independence of the rebel States. That was not the sentiment of one out of one million of the people of the North. Their determination was to carry the flag of the Union to the furthest boundary to which the rebellion had extended, and with it the flag also of liberty to the slave (cheers). If there should be resistance on the part of those distant States to the measure of the government, they would, he apprehended, be reduced to the condition of territories, and controlled by the laws of Congress until they should seek readmission into the Union on terms which Congress could approve (applause). Mr. Thompson then, at considerable length and with great ability, proceeded to refute an error which had been industriously propagated, viz., that the slave States had as much right to retire from the Union as the original thirteen States had to revolt from the government of Great Britain. He denied that there was the slightest resemblance between the two cases, and fortified his assertion by quotations from the Declaration of Independence, contrasting the grievances there set forth with the reasons which led to the rebellion of the Southern States. It was not, he said, an oppressed people rising in defence of their rights, or to overthrow a tyrannical dynasty, but a desperate man-stealing oligarchy bent upon the extinction of free institutions universally (hear, hear). The rebels had suffered no oppression, and were threatened with no injustice; on the contrary, they had always shaped the policy of the country, and had their own way. The charge that the government of the United States is fighting for empire was simply false. It was acting not aggressively, but in self-defence. Mr. Lincoln had no alternative but to proceed with all the forces at his command to put down the rebellion, and had he not done so he would have been guilty of perjury, and been a traitor to the government he was elected to uphold (hear, hear). If what he had stated was correct, it must be evident that the true and genuine friends of liberty in England were bound to give their sympathy and moral support to those who were upholding the Union and the Constitution. The triumph of the South would be the establishment of a slave-holding empire, whilst the victory on the part of the North would ever limit the area of slavery. Mr. Thompson then refuted the error that the main cause of revolt was the heavy burdens of taxation imposed by the North, and mentioned several facts in confirmation of his opinion that slavery had been the sole, simple, and exclusive cause of all their past discontent, and was the sole reason for their late act of separation. In conclusion, he expressed his earnest hope, he might also say his firm belief, that the days of slavery in the States were numbered (cheers). He asked them in the downfall of that iniquitous and cruel system not to forget those self-sacrificing men and women in the United States who had borne the burden and heat of the day, and whose labors had awakened in the national conscience a perception of the sin of slavery. They could only hope that when the present war should have terminated, when the sword shall be sheathed, and the din of war hushed, and the dead shall have been buried, they might find as the result and as some compensation for their toils and prayers that the conflict had wrought out the redemption of four million of human beings and rescued a great continent from a scandal and a curse (loud cheers).

Mr. WILLIAM CRAFT, who had himself escaped from slavery, briefly seconded the resolution, and replied to the allegation that the slaves did not wish to have liberty, asking how it came to be the fact, if this statement were true, that there were at present 45,000 fugitive slaves in Canada? He made an earnest appeal on behalf of his enslaved fellow-countrymen, and said that if the government of the United States had not taken up the question of emancipation he believed the slaves themselves would (hear, hear).

The Rev. ALFRED BARRY, in moving the next resolution, observed that the pro-slavery advocates, in the desperation of a final and hopeless struggle, were endeavoring to take their stand—it was almost blasphemy to say it—on the Book which had been the charter of freedom to the world, and to make the Bible not simply an excuse but a triumphant defence for slavery. When he heard this his sympathy was aroused, not merely for the anti-slavery cause, but for the cause of the gospel itself. He was not one of those who believed that the assaults of infidelity would shake "the rock of ages," but if it could be shown that the Bible was opposed to true morality, to the true instincts of humanity, and that it sanctioned a system against which every honest heart revolted, then those who opposed its authority had gained a weapon the power of which could not be calculated, and which they hardly could be able to resist (hear, hear). He believed that their assertion that the Bible supported slavery was blasphemy against the book, and against the God who gave it (applause). Mr. Barry concluded by moving the following resolution:

"That the system of slavery as it now exists in America is grievously opposed to the whole spirit of Christianity, and is an oppressive iniquity which no faithful Christian ought to connive at or palliate. That this meeting deeply deplores the fact that so many of the American Churches should be the abettors, defenders, and even perpetrators of this sin of slavery; but trusts that in the present crisis the Churches of the Northern States will not be backward in fulfilling the mission of their divine Master, and come forward to undo the heavy burden, and 'let the oppressed go free.'"

The Rev. R. BROWN seconded the motion, which, like the preceding ones, was unanimously adopted.

On the motion of Mr. JOHN ANDREW, seconded by Mr. PULLEN, thanks were voted to the chairman and to the speakers, and the proceedings terminated.

THE GREAT DANGER NOW TO BE GUARDED AGAINST.

From Brownson's Quarterly Review for April.

THE great danger now to be guarded against does not come from the avowed rebels. At the moment we are writing, our victorious armies have penetrated into Tennessee, and taken possession of its capital, and already we hear that a new State government is soon to be elected, and Tennessee is to have her full representation in both Houses of Congress. The press recommends to the government, that as fast as a State is reconquered, it shall recognize it as loyal, allow it to elect its State and Federal officers, and resume its place in the Union. Whether the government will adopt such a policy or not, we know not, for we are not its organ, and are not in its secrets. We hope it will not, for such a policy is, in our judgment, under present circumstances, the shallowest, the maddest, and the most suicidal policy that can be proposed. That such a policy should have been entertained in the beginning of the struggle, can be excused. There was then much to be said in its favor. The Administration did not know its own strength, and could not tell how far it could count on the patriotism of the people. It knew there was a strong Southern and pro-slavery party in the free States, and it had reason to fear that it would prove a disunion party, and make common cause with the rebels. Besides, it was supposed that there was a strong Union party in the seceding States, whom it was necessary to secure, and who must, at any cost, be prevented from being irritated and estranged from the national cause. The restoration of the *status quo*, or the suppression of the rebellion without affecting the *status* of persons held prior to the rebellion to service, was all that was generally contemplated; or that, except by the very boldest, it was thought prudent to contemplate. Everybody disclaimed all intention of subjugating the rebellious States, and nearly all were prepared to allow them to return to their allegiance, and to resume their former position in the Union, very much on their own terms. But we are not where we were when President Lincoln issued his first Proclamation; we are not where we were even three months ago. Events have marched, and men have marched with them. The policy which might have been prudent in the beginning, would now be a shameful surrender. We are now in a position to enforce the law in the case, and to make the rebels pay the just penalty of their treason and rebellion, and to teach State treason a lesson it will never forget.

But precisely now comes our danger, and never, at any moment since the secession of South Carolina, has the danger to the Republic been greater or more imminent. The old pro-slavery party at the North, aided by the Border States nominally in the Union, but in the Union only through fear of our battalions, rears its head, and threatens to render all our sacrifices useless, and all our victories abortive. This party is all the more dangerous, because it professedly adopts what was in the outset apparently the policy of the Administration itself, and claims to approve and sustain the executive—a policy, the useless and dangerous character of which Mr. Conway, of Kansas, in the remarkable speech placed at the head of this article, was the first thoroughly to expose. Let Tennessee and one or two more of the rebellious States, or even Tennessee alone, be represented, and this party has regained its majority in Congress, and the whole nation is brought again under the domination of the slave interest, represented now principally by the Border States, nominally loyal, but really disloyal. Here is the danger, which will only be increased by any addition to the representation in Congress of the so-called Union men in the seceding States.

We would not be unjust to the Border States, but we say frankly we have no confidence in their loyalty. It is "neither fish, nor flesh, nor fowl, nor yet good red herring." It is the loyalty of neutrality, like that of the affectionate wife in the battle between her husband and the bear. "Fight Husband, fight Bear; I am neutral." Missouri was for neutrality, and three times have we had to conquer her secessionists; Kentucky was neutral, that is to say, against the Union; and Maryland would have openly seceded but for the presence of the Federal troops and the timely arrest and imprisonment of a part of her Legislature. Both Missouri and Kentucky are represented in the rebel Congress, and no doubt would have openly seceded with Virginia and Tennessee, if it had not been for the proximity of the great Northwest and a secret conviction that they would serve the cause of rebellion more effectually in the Union than out of it, or by pretended neutrality than by avowedly taking sides with the rebels. To these may be added Western Virginia, treated as the old State of Virginia, and allowed her representation in Congress. There are, no doubt, in the Border States nominally within the Union, as well as in the seceded States themselves, individuals who are unsurpassed by any, in any section, for their loyalty to the Union; individuals whom we love and honor, and in whose patriotism we would confide as unreservedly as in our own. But, in general, the Union men in all the Border States, as in the seceded States, are tainted with the heresy of State sovereignty, and are willing to remain in the Union only on condition of dictating its policy, and placing it under the domination of the slave interest. Kentucky never voted to sustain the Union, or to discharge her duty to the Union, till the President had modified Gen. Fremont's proclamation, freeing the slaves of rebels, and her prominent men had received assurances that the triumph of the National cause should work no detriment to the "divine and sacred" institution of negro slavery. Protect slavery, and she will be loyal; leave slavery to follow the surcease of the States that authorized it, and she will go over to the enemy. Such is her loyalty, a conditional loyalty, which we treat as disloyalty, and despise more than open treason and rebellion.

Western Virginia has demonstrated the impolicy of treating the professed Union men of a seceded State, as a State, and allowing them a Congressional representation. This policy is unjustifiable, and in adopting it, the government sanctions a more fatal revolutionary principle than that asserted by the rebellion we are seeking to suppress and extinguish. Mr. Pierrepont may be a very worthy and respectable gentleman, but who thinks of him as the Governor of Virginia, and what court of law would recognize as the acts of Virginia the acts of the pretended government at Wheeling? The recognition of that government of conditional and revolutionary loyalty by the Administration, was worse than a fault, it was a blunder; and it will not do to repeat it. The Administration might have taken, and should have taken military possession of the loyal portion of the Old Dominion, and Congress might have provided for their government as a Territory. But to recognize them as the State of Virginia, and give them the representation of the State in the Senate, and their proportionate representation in the House of Representatives, without any legitimate State action, was a blunder in policy, a blow at legitimate State Rights, and an act of gross injustice to the loyal States, on whom, for the present at least, is thrown the chief burden of saving the Constitution and the integrity and life of the nation.

The States that have remained loyal, and that now constitute the political community called the United States, have the constitutional right to settle the affairs of the nation, without the intervention of gentlemen who have no constitutional right to seats on the floor of either House of Congress. We know to a moral certainty that, if the government treats as a State the population of each district it recovers from the so-called Confederacy, and concedes them the full State representation in Congress, the *status quo* will be restored, slavery be reëstablished, the slave interest again be dominant, and our political condition after the war be more disgraceful and humiliating than it was even before. In every one of the seceded States there are, no doubt, Union men, and, as our armies advance, they will become much more numerous. Some will be heartily Union men, a much larger number will be Union men because Secession is the losing and the Union the winning side. Nowhere are these men the State; nowhere can they claim to be the State, or by any State law hold a regular election for either State or Federal offices. There is no possible way for them to perform any legal or constitutional State act. All their acts must lack authority, and in their principle and essence be illegal and revolutionary. To allow them to send representatives to Congress, is therefore an outrage upon the loyal States, which deprives them of their constitutional rights for these representatives, though representing population, would be the representatives of no State. It would destroy constitutionalism by placing the unorganized and unconstituted population of a geographical division of territory on the same footing with a legally organized and constituted State. It is States according to population, not population simply, that is represented in the Lower House of Congress, and States alone that are represented in the Upper House or Senate. Let those who are ready to adopt this policy, and who profess to be the special friends of the Constitution ponder this well.

These people in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Arkansas, that it is proposed, under these names, to treat as States, even if loyal, are not and never were States. They are in all the States named, we presume, only a minority, though that is not fatal, for it is only the loyal majority of a legally constituted people that is of moment. Now, to allow this population to be represented in Congress is an outrage on the Federal principle of our government. We then make population alone, not States, the people represented, and thus in principle convert our Republic from a Federal to a Centralized Republic, and sanction the wildest and most irregular democracy ever broached by the most rabid Jacobin or radical. We should not in this way preserve our Federal system, our Federal Constitution, but should revolutionize and destroy it. We should put an end to the Republic of Washington and Adams, Jefferson and Madison, and attempt the experiment of a pure, centralized democracy.

Receive back, without territorial discipline, the seceded States the moment they cease fighting, because fighting has become a losing game, and you simply pay a premium for rebellion, and make treason more profitable than loyalty. The Border State representation, aided by Democratic pro-slavery representatives, and a few renegade Administration members, even now all but control Congress, and make it well-nigh impossible to pass any comprehensive measure punishing rebels, or for indemnifying loyal men, by confiscating rebel property. The slave interest is nearly as dominant in Congress now as it was before the secession of Toombs and Davis, Slidell and Mason, Wigfall and Hunter. It must be protected at all hazards. No damage must be done it, whatever becomes of loyalty. It thwarts the patriotic action of Congress, and has from the outset paralyzed the arm of the Executive, only just now beginning to be emancipated. For a long time every military precaution was neglected lest the Border States should be irritated and secede; and the finest months in the season for military operations were suffered to wear away without anything being done, and the wisest strategic movements were sternly forbidden to be made, and the most important strategic points were left to the enemy, lest the Union men of Kentucky should vote to join the Confederates. Let now Tennessee, North Carolina, Arkansas, and one after another of all the seceded States return to the Union, and send their delegations to Congress, and it is easy to foresee the injustice that will be done to loyalty.

If one thing more than another should be insisted on, it is that the expenses of putting down the rebellion should be paid out of the property of the rebels, of rebel States and rebel individuals. This is alike the dictate of justice and sound policy. But even as Congress is now constituted this could hardly be effected. Let all the seceded States come back, and the United States would soon find that, in addition to the Federal debt, in addition to the damages done to the property of so-called loyal men, by either army, Federal or Confederate, the Federal treasury would be drawn upon to pay the scrip of the Confederacy, and discharge all the obligations contracted by the rebels in their war against the Union. Some Northern "doughface"—say the Hon. Mr. Diven, of New York, for instance, could be found to introduce a bill to that effect; it would be supported by all the Union men of the Border States from interest and the desire to stand well with their neighbors, late rebels to the government, by the whole Southern delegation, as a matter of course, and by a fair share of Northern men who would be anxious to prove that the era of good feeling had returned, and that they entertained no grudge against their Southern brethren, and the bill would be passed, if necessary, even over the Presidential veto. As sure as the armies of the Union continue to be victorious, and the seceded States are suffered to return to the Union the moment they lay down their arms, this is what will be done. It will be the rebels, not the loyalists, to whom will inure the victory. Slavery will again be in power, and the cotton lords will dominate as of old in the halls of Congress, the Executive chair, and the departments, threatening anew, if we of the free States show any disposition to assert our own rights, to secede, to convulse the nation again with civil war, to murder again our fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers, till they break our spirit, and we become as tame and docile as their own negroes. Is this the premium to be paid for treason? And this the penalty to be inflicted on loyalty?

The two most important measures ever introduced into the American Congress are, first, the resolutions of Mr. Sumner in the Senate, declaring that a State by rebellion commits suicide, and, second, Gen. Ashley's bill in the House, from the Territorial Committee, providing for the government of the rebellious States as territories. We fear the Democratic and Border State influence, aided by a certain number of "doughfaced" republicans, may be too strong for their friends, and defeat the whole utility of the war, by forcing the acceptance of some base, timid, and disgraceful compromise; but they are wise and noble measures, almost the only measures introduced into the present Congress that belong to high and comprehensive statesmanship. Let those measures be adopted, and our government will rise from its degradation, will reassume its majestic port and step, and command anew the admiration of the world. Their adoption would save constitutional government, and give new guaranties of man's capacity for freedom. But whether these measures be adopted or not, Mr. Sumner's resolutions will serve as a platform on which will take their stand all in the country worthy of consideration for their political sagacity, their wise statesmanship, their disinterestedness, and their nobility of sentiment.

Never have we trembled more for the fate of the Republic than we do at this moment when the shouts of victory are ringing in our ears. Yet we do not despair. If the present Congress fails in its duty, we shall regret it. If it receives back revolted States, and restores them to their former *status*, permitting them to remand the persons now legally free to their former servitude, we shall blush for our country, and hold that she knows not how to avail herself of this, her hour of visitation; but we shall not cease to labor for liberty, or to hope for its final triumph.

EMANCIPATION IN THE DISTRICT.

AN ACT for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all persons held to service or labor within the District of Columbia by reason of African descent are hereby discharged and freed of and from all claim to such service or labor; and from and after the passage of this act neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, whereof the party shall be duly convicted, shall hereafter exist in said District.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all persons loyal to the United States, holding claims to service or labor against persons discharged therefrom by this act, may, within ninety days from the passage thereof, but not thereafter, present to the Commissioners hereinafter mentioned their respective statements or petitions in writing, verified by oath or affirmation, setting forth the names, ages, and personal description of such persons, the manner in which said petitioners acquired such claim, and any facts touching the value thereof, and declaring his allegiance to the government of the United States, and that he has not borne arms against the United States during the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid or comfort thereto: *Provided*, That the oath of the party to the petition shall not be evidence of the facts therein stated.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint three Commissioners, residents of the District of Columbia, any two of whom shall have power to act, who shall receive the petitions above mentioned, and who shall investigate and determine the validity and value of the claims therein presented, as aforesaid, and appraise and apportion, under the proviso hereto annexed, the value in money of the several claims by them found to be valid; *Provided, however*, That the entire sum so appraised and apportioned shall not exceed in the aggregate an amount equal to three hundred dollars for each person shown to have been so held by lawful claim; *And provided, further*, That no claim shall be allowed for any slave or slaves brought into said District after the passage of this act, nor for any slave claimed by any person who has borne arms against the government of the United States in the present rebellion, or in any way given aid or comfort thereto, or which originates in or by virtue of any transfer heretofore made, or which shall hereafter be made by any person who has in any manner aided or sustained the rebellion against the government of the United States.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That said Commissioners shall, within nine months from the passage of this act, make a full and final report of their proceedings, findings and appraisement, and shall deliver the same to the Secretary of the Treasury, which report shall be deemed and taken to be conclusive in all respects, except as hereinafter provided; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall, with like exception, cause the amounts so apportioned to said claims to be paid from the treasury of the United States to the parties found by said report to be entitled thereto as aforesaid, and the same shall be received in full and complete compensation: *Provided*, That in cases where petitions may be filed presenting conflicting claims or setting up liens, said Commissioner shall so specify in said report, and payment shall not be made according to the award of said Commissioners until a period of sixty days shall have elapsed, during which time any petitioner claiming an interest in the particular amount may file a bill in equity in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, making all other claimants defendants thereto, setting forth the proceedings in such case before said Commissioners and their action therein, and praying that the party to whom payment has been awarded may be enjoined from receiving the same; and if said court shall grant such provisional order, a copy thereof may, on motion of said complainant, be served on the Secretary of the Treasury, who sh

age, and description of such person, and stating that such person was duly manumitted and set free by this act.

SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, is hereby appropriated, to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, to aid in the colonization and settlement of such free persons of African descent now residing in said District, including those to be liberated by this act, as may desire to emigrate to the Republics of Hayti or Liberia, or such other country beyond the limits of the United States as the President may determine: *Provided*, The expenditure for this purpose shall not exceed one hundred dollars for each emigrant.

SEC. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That all acts of Congress and all laws of the State of Maryland in force in said District, and all ordinances of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, inconsistent with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

Approved April 16, 1862.

THE MISSIONS TO PORT ROYAL.

[Knowing the deep interest of our readers in the Missions to the Freedmen of South Carolina, and the anxiety which has been created by the reports in the pro-slavery journals that the whole scheme had proved a failure, we hasten to publish the following letter from our highly esteemed friend, EDGAR KETCHUM, Esq., of this city—a gentleman of large intelligence, fine judgment, and great moral worth—who has just returned from Port Royal.]

Correspondence of The Tribune.

PORT ROYAL, April 18, 1862.

IT was quite natural that there should have been conflicting opinions and reports about the experiment going on in the Sea Islands of South Carolina, but no unprejudiced person can see it without wishing it success. In this District the proportion of slave population was one of the largest in the country, being more than eighty per cent. Here dwelt some of the most influential inhabitants. After the battle of Port Royal they all fled and left their plantations and town mansions to us, with many of their slaves, and much cotton and other produce. A just government would not leave a poor and loyal people like these without protection, and ours was peculiarly bound to give it, because it had taken possession of the estates, with their stock and produce, leaving the negroes without anything. And it acted accordingly. While it undertook to collect the cotton on the plantations, it gave its sanction to measures for the relief of the negroes. The first was a commercial operation, and the last mainly one of benevolence. If, at this moment, some comprehensive genius had been found to take direction of the whole, and, like Toussaint in Hayti, establish order and industry everywhere, all would have been well; but in Hayti other chiefs preceded the Man for the Place, and here confusion followed haste. The army took from the plantations the mules, wanted for plowing; the rails, prepared for fencing, and the corn, poultry and pigs.

Cotton agents came next, intent on gathering cotton, as much, and as cheaply as possible. Then the government was recommended to lease out the plantations to such persons as would take and work them; which, for obvious reasons, would have operated disastrously to the poor negroes, whose labor was relied on to make it profitable. But this was opposed by others who desired the welfare of the blacks, and who came down in time to see what was the state of affairs. They laid this before the government, which determined not to lease the lands, but to sanction associations at the North to organize the labor of the Freedmen on the plantations, and gather from the charitable clothing, etc., for their immediate relief. For the superintendents and teachers commissioned by these, the government would provide transportation and rations. Everything else must come from the contributions of friends of the movement at the North.

The cotton agents soon found that the army had taken much they needed, and the special agent of the Treasury Department for the Freedmen found that some things necessary for him were wanted by the cotton agents. Some jarring was the consequence, and this, with the very common differences of opinion and expression about slavery and the negro, has given rise to the reports seen at the North about the "Indiscretion of the Port Royal missionaries," the "Failure of their enterprise," the "Falling out of the Boston and New York delegations," etc., the foundation for which is so utterly wanting in truth, that it seems to one who has investigated the matter puerile to enter upon the refutation of them. The enterprise has proved to a very remarkable degree successful, and the body of superintendents and teachers to a very remarkable degree fitted for their work, and there is no difference in their councils.

At this time the work of the cotton agents in gathering and shipping the cotton of the last year's growth is nearly completed. Much of the cotton has gone North, and some remains to be sent.

Under Mr. Pierce, the special agent for the Freedmen, much land has been planted with cotton as well as corn, although it was reported at the North a month ago to be too late for cotton planting. That was a mistake, the planting season lasting till the middle of May. The want of mules has been sorely felt, but a shipment of ninety was received yesterday, and they will be used under stringent regulations solely for the purpose of cultivating the plantations.

The negroes seem a people made for such a transition as this now going on. They are generally docile and respectful, and willing to work. Kind treatment is doing for them what it will hardly ever fail to do with the poor, winning their confidence and increasing their worth. Some deny this, and assert with bitterness that they become lazy and insolent, but a little attention will discover that such expressions flow more from prejudice than from experience or observation, these proving in many such cases to be wholly wanting. The blacks are intensely conscious of the difference between slavery and freedom, and cherish the fondest hopes that they have parted with slavery forever.

The testimony of men having the best opportunity of learning the facts, is favorable to the negro. Col. Shaffer, the new Quartermaster at Hilton Head, found our soldiers employed in earth-works, and other labor, while more than 500 negroes had little to do, and he at once drew off the former and put the latter in their place, and he is well satisfied with their disposition and their work. Mr. Lee, who, under the Quartermaster, superintends them, and whose good sense strikingly appears in conversation with him, considers them very fair work-people—as good as the average—in short, having a good deal of human nature about them. Mr. Pierce makes a similar report. And it is to be remembered that these poor people have, for generations, been used as mere cattle, and often treated with extreme severity, so that it would be no strange thing if they really were as worthless as some assert, having been deprived of those incentives which most improve the character. There are two negro pilots at Hilton Head, of whom Mr. Lee says that they are skillful and faithful. No vessel has grounded in their charge, and he would trust them with any treasure. One of them is a tall, very black man, about thirty-six years of age, and wearing the dark navy blue, for he has been taken into the naval service. He told the writer something of his history. He had within three years learned to read, getting some boys to teach him first some syllables, and afterward getting along by himself, much as Frederick Douglass tells us that he did. He pulled out a hymn book, and opening where it was folded down and worn, he read in it easily. Being turned to another place that looked fresh and unused, he had more difficulty, but soon went on there, too, very well. Through all the service of his master his wages had been a peck of corn a week, with sometimes a little bacon, and one pair of shoes and six yards of negro cloth a year, and no more. His master had carried off his wife and four children, he escaping. He said his master was a religious man, but had been very hard to him; that he himself was a religious man, and did not wish his master any harm, but prayed for him. He said he felt very bad at losing his wife and children, but knew that his Lord reigned above, and would make it all right. In answer to a question as to the return of the slave-masters, he answered with great earnestness of voice and gesture, hoping that they might never come back, *never*.

The children on the plantations are as happy scholars as ever were seen. They are eager to learn and some advance with rapidity. A group of them, gathered about the "quarters," were asked who their teacher was, and as their eyes glistened and their white teeth appeared, and each seemed anxious to answer, the eye of the inquirer rested upon one of them who almost danced as he cried out, "Miss Nelly, sir!" And Christian people of the North have reason to be glad that so many excellent persons have condescended to these of low estate, and are so willing and so able to do them good. Some instruction is given to adults as well as children, and their progress is encouraging.

The superintendents who have been sent out by the relief associations are scattered over the plantations from the sea-side to our interior military lines, one of them sometimes taking charge of several plantations. The allotted task of the laborers is generally finished in half a day, leaving the rest for work on their own patches. It is said that they sometimes show more alacrity for the latter than the former, and this is not without reason. It has so happened that they have not been paid for their work as they ought to have been. They were to be paid for picking cotton what would have given them from ten to twenty-five cents a day, and they were to receive wages for planting. But to a great extent the wages are unpaid, and as their masters fled without giving the annual allowance of clothing, they are in want, and hope deferred has bred suspicion that payment will never come. This evil ought to be remedied without delay. Humanity and good policy require it. It is to be regretted that, to some extent, these poor people have received for their cotton-picking, goods instead of money, and at prices little corresponding with their rate of wages; as, very common calico 25 cents a yard; molasses, $1 a gallon; brown sugar, 20 cts.; ham, 20 cts. a pound, etc.

The people are fully aware that they are under law, and in cases of discipline they are submissive to authority. A man who had ill-treated his wife was brought ten miles, part of the way by night, by a superintendent, a son of one of the finest scholars in the land, who left the advantages of home to help on these plantations, and the culprit, on his way to imprisonment, yielded implicitly to his superior. And no one who visits the plantation and sees these laborers can doubt that their removal would be injurious to both. Nothing but prejudice can account for the idea that the negroes, as slaves, do very well here, but as free must be colonized somewhere else; as if gross ignorance, the lash, and brutal treatment comported with the fit service of human beings anywhere. They are used to the climate, have an ample field of labor, can easily support themselves, and are easily governed. Divine justice has brought their oppressors to break off the yoke that seemed immovable, and now all that is wanted is simple common sense to improve the opportunity so wonderfully opened to us.

A more loyal people never lived. And there are fine examples of heroism on the part of some of these slaves, in making their way from the main to these islands, with companies of their fellows in charge, in hope of freedom. A man lies ill at the "Quarters" in Beaufort, who for several months was traversing swamps and woods, and crossing streams to reach it, with twelve others, whom he brought in, exposed to much peril and hardship, and tasking every faculty. He was successful, but probably has sacrificed his own life by his labors and exposure.

The agents for the Freedmen owe much to our commanders for their aid. Those gentlemen fully recognized the governmental sanction given to the work, and cheerfully did their duty in respect to it. This was the case with Gen. Sherman, and is so still with Gen. Stevens. None can doubt that it will be so with Gen. Hunter, who has recently been assigned to this post, and whose friendly disposition to the Freedmen is well understood.

There is still great want of clothing, many of the poor people being almost without it. The laborers employed by the government, and who are regularly paid, have been allowed to purchase, at low prices, some of the clothing sent out for distribution, and have thus been shielded from the exorbitant demands of traders, while the money is used to supply the wants of others who are less fortunate. K.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

REMOVAL.

THE office of THE STANDARD will be removed, on or before the first of May, to No. 48 Beekman st., a few doors below William.

TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the Church of the Puritans (Dr. Cheever's), in the City of New York, on Tuesday, May 6th, commencing at 10 o'clock a.m. In the evening, another public meeting will be held in the Cooper Institute, commencing at half past 7 o'clock. The names of speakers for these meetings will be seasonably announced.

The Society will meet for business purposes only, in the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, at 3½ p.m. on Wednesday.

The object of this Society is still—as at its formation—the immediate and total abolition of slavery wherever existing on the American soil, because of its inherent sinfulness, immorality, oppression and barbarity, and its utter repugnance to all the precepts of the Gospel, and all the principles of genuine Democracy; its measures are still the same, peaceful, moral, rational, legal, constitutional; its instrumentalities are still the same—the pen, the press, the lecturing field, tracts and other publications, etc., etc., disseminating light and knowledge in regard to the tyrannical power claimed, possessed and exercised by slaveholders, the actual condition of their miserable victims, and the guilty complicity of the people of the North, religiously, politically, governmentally, with those who "trade in slaves and the souls of men"; its spirit is still the same—long-suffering, patient, hopeful, impartial, benevolent alike to the oppressor and the oppressed, zealously intent on "promoting the general welfare and securing the blessings of liberty" universally, "knowing no East, no West, no North, no South," but embracing the whole country in its charitable and humane concern, and conflicting with nothing just, honest, noble and Christian in sentiment, practice or tendency.

In regard to the struggle now going on between the government and the rebel States, this Society is unequivocally with the government, because it has done no wrong to those States, nor furnished any justification for such a treasonable procedure on their part. Yet the Society sees in this awful conflict the fulfilment of the prophetic declaration—"Ye have not proclaimed liberty, every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; therefore, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine"; and it trusts that, in the spirit of sincere repentance and deep humiliation, acknowledging the righteous retribution which has come upon them, THE PEOPLE will imperatively demand of the government (now that it has the constitutional right under the war power), that it forthwith decree the immediate and entire abolition of slavery, so that peace may be restored on an enduring basis, and the unity of the nation preserved through universal justice.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, } Secretaries.

☞ THE NEW YORK (CITY) ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold its Anniversary in the Cooper Institute on WEDNESDAY evening, May 7th.

THE ABOLITION IN THE DISTRICT.

WE announced last week the completion of this great event by the signature of the President to the bill which passed both Houses of Congress by large majorities. Great pressure had, undoubtedly, been brought to bear upon Mr. Lincoln to coax or to bully him into a veto of it, either on its general merits, or on the ground that it should not come to pass without the consent of the inhabitants of the District. The tone of the pro-slavery speeches in Congress, and of the pro-slavery press all over the country, indicated plainly enough how clearly the importance of this measure as the Beginning of the End of slavery was discerned by them, and how desperately they clung to any hope of its defeat or its delaying. Mr. Lincoln has shown himself a resolute and a wise man in the way in which he has encountered this responsibility. We have not been overswift, as our readers will admit, to acknowledge the sagacity of the President, and we have not been backward in giving utterance to our fears of the undue influence of the Border State slaveholders over his mind; but we cannot withhold the expression of our sense of the wise discretion he has shown in this matter as in the significant resolutions which have been passed on his recommendation and suggestion. These actions do not come up to the highest mark, to be sure. Of course, they fall far short of it. But they show a face set Zionward and a disposition to press forward in that direction. We cannot deny the difficulties with which he is surrounded, and we are ready to make the most ample allowance for them. All we can ask of him is a willingness to look the real difficulties of the situation in the face, and to show a readiness to master it, according to the best of his knowledge and ability. This, we think, the President has made manifest, and the importance of what he has said and done is authenticated by the violence of the opposition made to his resolutions, and to the abolition which was their logical sequence, by all the slaveholding interest left in Congress and by all the slaveholding influence remaining in the free States.

It is hard to bring it home to one's mind that this victory is indeed won, and that the District of Columbia is actually free soil from this time forth. For almost thirty years the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society have made this measure one of the main practical objects of their agitation. For a long time it made the lists in which the great quarrel between Liberty and Slavery was tried by the wager of battle. But the eye of faith only could descry the far glimmering glimpse of the star, long lingering below the horizon, whose rising was to be the harbinger of the victory of the right. For year after year, petitions were piled upon petitions, which were all swept away to some charnel-house where it was believed they would be at rest. The great battle on the Right of Petition was fought, mainly, upon this issue. Even the right to ask Congress to do this great justice was hardly extorted from the the slaveholding predominance, when it took this shape. And the slave-drivers were in the right, upon their own slave-driving grounds. The introduction of the merits of slavery to the halls of Congress, as a legitimate subject of discussion, their instincts told them was a fatal blow to its life. Though nothing could be more cautious and guarded, not to say timid, than the course of almost all the Northern members who touched the subject, it was all the same as long as it could be touched at all. It may not be too much to say that all the outrages of slavery, from the annexation of Texas down to the attack on Fort Sumter, grew directly out of the regular approaches the anti-slavery spirit of the nation was making upon its citadel in the Capital of the nation. The actual interest at stake was not extensive—a citadel never occupies a large proportion of the territory it represents—but the principle involved in the question was vital in its issues. The countenance of the nation was given by the existence of slavery at its Capital to its moral and political rightfulness. Its abolition there would be the strongest of rebukes to the self-righteousness and the pride of heart of the slave-drivers, who drove the whole nation along with their slaves.

In the multitudinous excitements of the present hour, distracted between dubious successes on the one side and apprehended discomfitures on the other, the eye darkened by the smoke of battle-fields and the ear deafened by their thunders, it is not easy to give to such an event as this the relative importance that belongs to it. It is one of those victories which Peace hath, "not less renowned than War's"; but it may have to wait until the war is over before it receives its true meed of glory. The persistent demand for the abolition of slavery in the District may, perhaps, be discerned hereafter as the remote practical cause of the present civil war. It will also be recognized as the first of its practical results. During the long years of our waiting, nothing but the firm belief that whatever ought to happen would sooner or later come to pass, could have sustained the spirits of the Abolitionists up to the point of their great patience. And nothing but the war, which the exigencies of slavery made inevitable, could have made it possible under many years, if at all, until the general downfall of slavery. As long as slavery was the predominating principle of our public affairs, such an act was simply impossible. At the beginning of the rebellion, even, after the slave-drivers had drawn the sword and were seeking to redden it with the life of the nation, it was long doubtful whether slavery had left virtue enough in what it had deserted to accomplish this just and necessary act. It has taken but about a year to educate it up to this point of public virtue. The great majorities which were found ready to encounter the responsibility in both Houses, are indicative of the general sense of the free States on the matter. It is a monument which marks the rising of the tide of public sentiment in the nation. We do not believe that it will ever sink back to its old level of slimy subserviency. On the contrary, we augur a still more profound and mighty heaving of the waters on whose bosom we believe the Spirit of God will sit brooding, and make them pregnant with the freedom and happiness of countless generations. Such a prophecy is surely not more strange than such a history as we have already had to record.

We rejoice to perceive that the pro-slavery press of the North is already beginning to lose heart in the view of the proximate probabilities of slavery. They are driven from their original assertion of the absolute necessity of the actual reëstablishment of the *status quo* in all particulars to the admission that such a thing is impossible in the full extent of the term. They do not allow that emancipation will be the consequence of the war, but admit that some modification of slavery cannot probably be avoided. They only entreat that it be not tormented before its time by resolute demands for its exorcising. They fall back on the negro question, as they call it, and strive to darken counsel by false political economy and vile appeals to the vilest prejudices of Northern selfishness. The slaves are depicted pouring in sable hordes upon the North, and spreading themselves over all our farms and crowding out our own laborers from our workshops. As if the South could do without the blacks, or, if she could, we could not put them to a profitable use! What constitutes the wealth of a nation but the results of its labor? The more labor, intelligently directed, the more wealth. Had the swarms of the Irish and German emigrations of later years been prophesied forty years ago, a much more reasonable panic might have been excited in the breasts of the native Americans than this. And yet what has been the result of this vast addition to the laboring population of the North? A proportionable increase of the general wealth and the elevation to a higher plane of employment of the American laborers who formerly held the lowest place. Were it possible for the whole slave population of the South to be precipitated on the North, the effect would be precisely the same, proportional to the capacity of the new laborers. But this is as impossible as for water to run up-hill of its own natural tendency. Emancipation, instead of emptying the South upon the North, would have the effect of emptying the North of all its black labor, which would gravitate with the unerring affinity of natural laws back towards the tropics, as soon as the hideous repulsion of slavery were withdrawn. Nobody denies that the negro is the motive power that has set our confusions in motion. The only diversity of opinion is that the pro-slavery party believe that the times can be put in joint again, leaving him precisely in the condition which made him the occasion of such mischief. The Abolitionists, on the other hand, hold that these mischiefs can never cease, but must be ever renewed, until a wise justice has converted him from an occasion of harm to a means of good only to himself and everybody else. We think the country is coming round to this opinion, and we accept this act of abolition in the District as a sign of it.

MISREPRESENTATION.

The Montpelier, Vt., journals are discussing a sermon preached in that place on the late Fast-day, by the Rev. W. H. Lord, a son of the famous pro-slavery divine who presides over Dartmouth College. We have not seen the sermon itself, but we have before us a letter addressed by the preacher to *The Green Mountain Freeman*, in reply to the criticisms of that paper. In that letter we find the following allusion to the "Garrisonians":

"So also in respect to Garrison; I do not mean that he originated the '*centralization* theory of our government,' but I mean simply what I said, that he and 'his followers in all the lessening shades of opinion' (be consciously, they more or less unconsciously), have been trying to use the General government to weaken or destroy the vested rights of the States. If he despaired of succeeding in his mad attempt, and retired from the Union and Constitution in a *huff*, and came back to his allegiance recently, since he thought he could succeed, that does not disprove him to have been the most able and consistent champion of the *centralization* theory. And as I suppose that the States Rights theory is practically dead here at the North, I am at loss to see why any one should object to the true Republican theory of our government, as it was upheld by the framers and defenders of the Constitution, unless they are more or less imbued with this other false theory, which would use the Federal government to subvert the guaranteed rights of the several States. If there are such persons at the North, whether they call themselves Garrisonians, or repel that title, I most surely meant them in my discourse."

In all this Mr. Lord evinces either gross ignorance of the views and course of "Garrisonians," or something worse; for the simple truth is, that their theory of the relations of the U. S. Constitution to slavery is precisely that held by its framers, as well as by the leading statesmen of all political parties down to as late a time as 1830. They always agreed with Adams, Story, Webster, Clay, and other expounders of that instrument, that the National government had no power to abolish slavery in the States; and in all their appeals to that government they intelligently and carefully observed the limitations which the Constitution imposed. The Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, organized in 1833, contained this disclosure of its object and plan of operation:

"The object of this Society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State, in which slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a henious crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its immediate abandonment, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a *constitutional* way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave-trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country, which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia—and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any State that may be hereafter admitted to the Union."

For twenty-eight years the "Garrisonians" have steadily pursued their object, without doing a single act inconsistent with the above declarations. We challenge Mr. Lord to point to anything that they have done or said, or that has been done or said by anyone having the least claim to be considered their representative, that affords a shadow of warrant for charging them with holding "the *centralization* theory of our government." They have never asked the government to do an act inconsistent with the Constitution, as expounded by leading statesmen of all parties previous to the late attempts to find in it authority for the virtual extension of slavery over the whole country. There is no more ground for speaking of Mr. Garrison as a "champion of the centralization theory" of the government than there is for saying that he is a champion of Calvinism. On this point we have a right to speak with authority, and we call upon Mr. Lord to retract his statement. His desire to make the "centralization theory" odious by associating it with the name of Garrison can hardly be a sufficient excuse for such a downright misrepresentation.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST.

WM. OLAND BOURNE, 103 Fulton street, New York, has published in an extra number of his monthly periodical, *The Iron Platform*, "An address, delivered by a Member of the Manumission Society, at Knoxville, Tenn., on the 17th of August, 1816, and again, on the 1st of January, 1817; (by order of the Society.)" It is reprinted from a copy of the original pamphlet, bearing the imprint: "Knoxville; printed by Heiskill and Brown, May, 1817." On the title page stands, as a motto, the familiar quotation from the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident," etc. The matter of the address is distributed under these heads:

I. The object or design of the Manumission Society.

II. That the principles of slavery are inconsistent with the laws of nature and revelation.

III. Show some of its evils, both moral and political.

IV. No solid objections lie against *gradual emancipation*.

These topics are discussed with great ability and logical force. The arguments against slavery cover nearly every point elucidated by the Anti-Slavery Movement of the present day. The writer takes as a definition of the law of nature the words of the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths," etc., and he says: "Slavery, as it exists in these United States, is in direct opposition to those self-evident maxims. Every line of our history, every battle in our struggle for independence, every anniversary of our national birth, condemns the principles of slavery, and fixes on us the charge of glaring inconsistency; and every law passed by Legislatures in favor of slavery is in direct opposition to the principles of our national existence." The argument against slavery from the Bible anticipates and completely answers all the absurdities of Van Dyke, Southside Adams, etc. The moral and political evils of the system are exposed with great plainness. The writer, for example, says:

"Brought up in a school like this (viz: slavery), is it strange that men can, without remorse, be guilty of illicit commerce with their own female slaves, hold their own offspring as bondmen and as bond-women, and drive them to market and sell them like cattle; or see them held and sold as slaves by other men, their brother, their neighbor, or landlord. This rationally accounts for the general irreligion of slave States. . . . It is from characters, whose morals are formed by the models found in negro quarters, that the fair sex must generally choose a partner for life, and that too with a full knowledge of his impurities. And although inviolably chaste herself, she is reconciled with debauchery in her partner. Thus the restraint of female frowns is removed, and a most licentious liberty is given to a crime that modesty forbids to be named. But so much are the morals of society lowered, that in many circles the amours of fine gentlemen in their neighbor's kitchens are honorable topics of conversation. And instances are not wanting of ladies relating such gallantries of their own husbands or suitors in female circles for pastime. And these circles the highest orders of society. This may be thought to be the painting of an over-heated zeal, by those who live in the land of liberty; but I believe even this description will fail to give them a full idea of the demoralizing influence of slavery; and upon acquaintance they would say half had not been told."

Abolitionists have often been charged with misrepresentation in what they have said of the demoralizing influence of slavery in the particulars above named; but here we have the testimony of a man who lived, spoke and wrote in a slave community nearly 50 years ago, or 20 years before the commencement of the modern Anti-Slavery Movement. The testimony, after being twice delivered in public by the witness, was deliberately published in a pamphlet bearing this endorsement: "The foregoing has been examined by the Inspecting Committee and approved. Attest: James Jones, President. Nov. 20, 1816."

Mr. Bourne deserves the thanks of the friends of freedom for republishing this remarkable address. It is worthy of general circulation. He sells it at his office, 103 Fulton street, 100 copies for $1; 1,000 copies $10.

LETTER FROM GILES B. STEBBINS.

BATTLE CREEK, MICHIGAN, April 17th, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

DEAR SIR: For a few weeks past I have been in this State speaking on *the* topic of the day—The Rebellion. *The people respond heartily* to the ground that slavery is the cause and freedom must be the cure of our troubles—the means of peace, safety, honor and union, for our country.

The stern and bloody lessons of civil war are waking people to the truth that justice alone is safe, that slavery is, in its essence, treason and rebellion—the dangerous element in the State.

Thoughtful men of all parties are coming out for emancipation, while the ignorant and prejudiced stand in the dark and mutter curses on Abolitionists and secessionists—the first loud and deep, the last noisy but shallow. The majority would accept the word that should end slavery with a strong enthusiasm that would sweep away all opposition.

It is sometimes said the Democrats do all the fighting. Possibly it may be so in some regions, but here it is quite otherwise, so far as I learn. The town of Litchfield, Hillsdale County, with a population of less than 1,800, very largely Republican, has sent 100 soldiers, more than a fifth of its adult males. In a township in Barry County, of seventy-one recruits but seven were Democrats. Party has really very little to do with the matter, yet such facts are of interest.

Soldiers writing home almost always avow themselves Abolitionists, and say that others are so. I heard a letter, not long since, from an officer in Kentucky, who left home a decided pro-slavery man, and now writes that slavery must die to bring peace.

I have spoken in most of the large towns from Grand Rapids to Coldwater, usually to excellent audiences—at the last place named in the "Hope Chapel" of the "Independent Society" of F. L. H. Williss, to a crowded audience, two weeks since.

For a fortnight my route is to Jackson, Jonesville, Coldwater, Angola and Springfield, Indiana, and Union City.

The tour of Wendell Phillips in the West has been a success—an ovation, indeed. Everywhere crowded audiences, and invitations which it would need months to meet.

Let the "powers that be" move for freedom in this trial hour and the people will sustain their highest action. Only let it be positive and decided.

I send this word from the West that your readers may know how the waters move in this wide region.

Shall the tide rise high and strong, in time for our salvation?

Peace can only come with those conditions which secure it; this blessing is the boon granted only to the wise and free. Yours, truly, G. B. STEBBINS.

P. S.—I hope to reach my home, in Rochester, New York, early in May. S.

CRITICISM.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I AM glad to see that the American Anti-Slavery Society propose to hold their Anniversary meeting, as of old, this year. It has throughout seemed to me a sad mistake that the friends of freedom should voluntarily postpone their wonted Conventions, out of regard to any "Niagaras" of popular feeling, which, whatever else they might be, were too weak or uncaring to demand unequivocal justice and the swift irrevocable extinction of American slavery from the land. The Call just issued shows that, so far as the American Anti-Slavery Society are concerned, we are to have no postponement on any such sorry grounds this year.

But in this Call are there not one or two queer, not to say incongruous things? In regard to the struggle now going on between North and South, or, as the paper has it, "between the government and the rebel States," the American Anti-Slavery Society is declared to stand "unequivocally with the government," and the reason assigned is that "it," the government, "has done no wrong to those States, nor furnished any justification for such a treasonable procedure on their part." Is not the fact that the Federal government has done "no wrong" to those States, in the sense in which the word "wrong" is used in the paragraph quoted above, the damning fact against it, its conviction and condemnation? From the beginning that government has recognized, tolerated and fostered slavery, it has assured it perpetually of the most ample protection beneath the Aegis of the National Constitution, and made good its assurance by descending ever to deepest deeps of base humiliation and truckling to the Slave Power. It has made itself the bloodhound of the institution, hunting down and delivering up the flying fugitives, and hanging the John Browns, in testimony of loyalty to its idol. It is no part of innocence or virtue that I have to the utmost attempted to keep my covenant of fellowship and protection with a murderer intact and inviolate. I am in that guilty of a foul wrong, wrong not only to his victim, but to him also, and to my fellows universally. And I deserve to receive and inevitably shall receive therefor heavy inflictions.

This nation has affiliated with slavery, has tolerated and helped to nourish those brutal lusts, till now they have broken out in wide-spread and everywhere murderous rebellion. The retribution is here, and the harvest of God is beginning to be gathered. Let not people or government hold itself innocent of wrong in this matter. Great Justice will hold it deeply guilty, richly worthy of all the retributive calamities that shall come, even though they should sweep it from existence on the face of the earth.

The Committee remark with truth, that the people "have not proclaimed liberty every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbor," etc. But is the intimation here that this is a thing of the past only, that these sins have been or are being now repented of? The official declarations of Abraham Lincoln, early made, and perpetually with all due solemnity repeated taken up, too, and reiterated on every hand around us, touching the object and scope of this war, the emphatic assurances given of protection to slavery, loyal, do not look so. The slave-hunting still done along, and often within, the lines of the Federal army, the eager renditions of fugitives done at Springfield and Washington, by the hand of U. S. officials, and under the immediate notice, if not at the instance, of the Federal Executive, the atrocious persecution and imprisonment, because of his obstructing the execution of the Fugitive Slave bill, of Rev. George Gordon, do not look so.

No, verily; this nation is yet in the gall of bitterness, and under the bonds of iniquity; it is yet a rebellious people, eagerly determined in securing its own salvation to keep its sins. Alas, alas, that the life-long friends of the slave, the veteran American Anti-Slavery Society, honorable for its steady devotion, its long and reiterated declarations that it knew but one cause, the slave, one test of statesmanship, the slave, must now announce itself as standing "unequivocally" with a government not yet repentant, still traitorous to humanity, still with its hands unwashed of the blood of the slave! Is such the giddy intoxication of this bloody fight now raging, that the heads coolest and most staid are now something turned?

Mr. Editor, I have spoken freely and frankly, animadverting upon what seem to me faults, incongruous things in this Call. With the objects it describes as the generic purposes of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the action it urges on the people as the only true deliverance and salvation, I am, if I know myself, cordially and fervently at one. But for me, whatever others may do, I cannot stand with any government, whatever its place or name, that does not itself stand unequivocally for Justice and the Rights of human nature. Otherwise I should seem to myself a consenter and participant with conspirators and criminals.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

Syracuse, April 14, 1862.

We cannot help saying that we think the criticism of our friend Mills overstrained and unfair. The whole scope and spirit of the Call forbids the construction he puts upon the carefully guarded words of the Call, viz: "In regard to the struggle now going on between the government and the rebel States, this Society is unequivocally with the government," etc. Is not the meaning of this plain enough? See the Call in another column. —*Editor.*

PRINCIPLE BETTER THAN EXPEDIENCY.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

BE it from an excess of candor or that extreme of diffidence which prompts some men to deny their good actions in order to escape the acknowledgment of the recipients of their bounty, the emancipationists who speak through the editorial columns of *The Continental Monthly* seem greatly exercised lest some unsuspecting reader give them credit for the exalted motives that we thought induced their remarks in favor of freeing the slave.

The "success of the Union" must mean the success of principle before it deserves the support of the brain and sinew now enlisted in its defence. How those who condemn the noblest humanitarian principle introduced into any contest of modern days can purpose this seems remarkable.

The emancipationists, of the school we allude to, seem anxious to achieve their design; yet, with strange mental obliquity, they persist in disclaiming all moral purpose while performing the noblest action of their lives.

Do these men think that they will the more readily obtain converts to their cause by appealing to the selfishness of their compatriots? Do they, merely in order to make their measures more acceptable to the wavering, conceal the high purpose for which we fain would give them credit? Or do they ignorantly plate truth with error when they say that "*emancipation, if adopted, should be for the sake of the white man and not of the negro?*"

In our recent readings of the tergiversations of various latter-day emancipationists, we were tempted to construe everything fairly for the cause, since we thought that the idol Lucre, which always occupied a "high place" in their temple, had been removed. We now find, to our pain, that it is still over the altar; the only noticeable change being that instead of surmounting the effigy of virtue, as it formerly did, it now is on a level with it. A truly convenient arrangement enabling the faithful to take in both at a glance.

BROWNLOW ON HANGING.—The blackguard Parson Brownlow, from Tennessee, in one of his speeches in Cincinnati, as reported in the papers, said:

"If, fifty years ago, we had taken one hundred Southern fire-eaters and one hundred Abolitionists, and hanged them up and buried them in a common ditch, and sent their souls to hell, we should have had none of this war."

Fifty years carries us back to 1816, fifteen years before Garrison commenced his efforts. Among the Abolitionists of that day, who, according to the Tennessee parson, ought to have been hung, buried in a common ditch and sent to hell, we may mention John Jay, Josiah Quincy, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Rush, Rev. Theodore Dwight, Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, Isaac T. Hopper, and Daniel Webster! The followers of Garrison were born too late to have had any share in such a martyrdom.

On another occasion the Reverend blackguard "foamed out his shame" as follows:

"I have to say, just in this connection, that if, about two years ago, I had been authorized to collect about one or two hundred anti-slavery agitators and fanatics at the North, scattered here and there, and about an equal number of our God-forsaken, hell-deserving, corrupt secessionists and disunionists, I should have marched the whole army of them into the District of Columbia, and dug a common ditch, erected a common gallows, after embalming their bodies with gipsy-weed and dog-fennel. Had this been done, I should not have been here to-night—we would have had none of the troubles which afflict the country now."

We are sorry to say that many respectable citizens are not ashamed to be found 'lionizing' the creature who never opens his mouth without emitting a stream of vulgarity and profanity.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, April 21, 1862.

ON the final passage of the Emancipation bill in the House (I know it is rather late to allude to it now), Mr. Bingham, Mr. Ashley, and Mr. Hutchins, all of Ohio, delivered able speeches in favor of the bill. Mr. Bingham was interrupted by Mr. Wickliffe of Kentucky, who very much wanted to know whether the black man was permitted *to vote* in Ohio. This is a specimen of the arguments of the slaveholders. If the question of emancipation is under discussion, they invariably ask in a tone of derision, "Would you allow a negro to vote?" or "Would you marry a negro?" No doubt many of these flings at men who represent free States are deserved, those States practising the grossest injustice against the free colored people; but Mr. Bingham showed that there is necessarily no connection between the question of emancipation and that of voting—that of freeing the slave, and encouraging matrimonial alliances between the two races.

This is the colloquy which took place on this point:

Mr. WICKLIFFE—But what civil political right does the State of Ohio give to the black man? Does it allow him to vote? Does it allow him to intermarry with the whites?

Mr. BINGHAM—The gentleman would get a full and satisfactory answer to his question if he would read the statutes of Ohio.

Mr. WICKLIFFE—I have read them.

Mr. BINGHAM—If he has read them, then the gentleman from Kentucky knows that, among other things, the laws of Ohio fully provide for the protection of the right of every citizen of the United States, whether black or white, male or female, old or young, man or child—that is, that they shall not be deprived of life, or liberty, or property, without due process of law.

Mr. WICKLIFFE—The question I was inquiring about was not about the protection of life. What political rights do the black men hold in the State of Ohio?

Mr. BINGHAM—The gentleman's inquiry about their right to vote I had anticipated and answered. I suppose the gentleman did not hear it. I say that he would be a very bold man who, at this time, would venture to aver that nobody is a citizen of the United States who has not the right to vote. I say further, that there never has been a time since the existence of this Republic, when a majority of the citizens of the United States had the right to vote. Your wives and daughters are natural-born citizens of the United States. Citizenship is their birth-right. There is, there can be no question about this. I will not repeat my argument. I have thus spoken to answer and dispose of that trifling quibble interposed here eternally against any attempt to do justice between man and man, as if a man's right to live or breathe the air of heaven depended upon his right to vote.

The question is not whether you will confer the elective franchise, for upon that question you have no power for Federal purposes, either as to black or white citizens, within the several States. The Federal government has no power to regulate the elective franchise in any State in reference to persons of any complexion. You cannot pass any such law. The elective franchise can only be exercised in any State by virtue of State law and State law alone.

But, sir, if the right to the elective franchise is to be the test

ing—to give him no opportunities to distinguish himself in connection with the war.

The hard rains of to-day and the last two days much affect military operations in the peninsula, so far as our troops are concerned. The enemy, having rivers and a railway to transport provisions and troops, is not impeded by rain and mud. The corduroy roads built by our troops from Fortress Monroe up to the front of Yorktown will be of great service to Gen. McClellan during the bad weather. The President seems to have the fullest confidence that everything will turn out just as the most sanguine of us hopes. Yorktown and Richmond he believes will soon be ours, and if he is right, McClellan will deservedly win great renown. Some of the most infamous falsehoods have been propagated of late by some of the private enemies of Mr. Stanton—accusing him of breaking up the entire plans of Gen. McClellan out of personal pique. I know one or two of these fellows, who have set this latest bubble afloat. They dare not make their attacks in their regular correspondence, for they could be tracked here; so they communicate private letters to the editors of the journals for which they correspond, egging *them* on to attacks upon Mr. Stanton, the aforesaid correspondents down here pretending among their Republican friends to be well-affected towards Mr. Stanton.

I don't believe the pro-slavery hounds can back Mr. Stanton out of the Cabinet. They are trying very hard to do it, but it is not possible for them to succeed. The President, I feel certain, from what I hear, is averse to any such change, and Mr. Stanton's friends will endeavor to prevent him from voluntarily resigning his place. The country cannot afford to lose his services, and it will not. AVON.

THAT 1838 LETTER.

We have been inquired of by two different persons, both of them persons of intelligence and discernment, for the authorship of the letter dated *Washington*, 1838, embodied in our "Philadelphia Correspondence" of two weeks ago. As these friends have failed to note the clew to what was not intended to be a secret contained in the words of our correspondent himself, it may be that others are alike in the dark on the subject. We will, therefore, remind them that the beginning of "M's." letter ran thus: "If you will allow me a preacher's privilege, I will turn up my barrel and give you an *old sermon*." So he proceeds to transcribe and transmit to us an old letter *written by himself* (of course) nearly twenty-five years ago. If those of our readers who failed to discern this fact will now turn to the paper and reperuse the "Correspondence," they will, with their new light, find its interest a good deal enhanced. The graphic account of what our friend "M." saw and heard in Washington, twenty-five years ago, is as instructive as it is thrilling.

PERSONAL.

Mr. Charles A. Dana, late of *The Tribune* newspaper, has been appointed by the Secretary of War one of the Commissioners to examine the war accounts at Cairo.

Joshua R. Giddings is in Washington with his family. We almost envy the brave old soldier of freedom the joy he must feel in finding slavery abolished at the Capital, where he so long endured the insolence and rage of its champions.

The President on Monday met with an accident while returning in his carriage from the Navy-Yard. The horses became frightened near the Capitol, and a serious casualty was only prevented by running the carriage into a bank. Fortunately the President escaped unhurt.

The Salem (Mass.) *Register* says: "A private letter from Seth Webb, Jr., United States Commercial Agent at Port au Prince, says: 'Madam Geffrard, the wife of the President of Hayti, with her daughter, Mademoiselle Zaila Geffrard, will visit New York in May in the Haytien man-of-war the Twenty-second of December, on their way to Paris, where Madam Geffrard has two daughters at school. They are highly educated and refined people, and I hope they will meet a proper reception from our countrymen.'"

Parker Pillsbury delivered an address on the War at the Universalist Church in Concord, N. H., on Sunday evening, April 6th. *The Independent Democrat* says: "He was listened to by a large and attentive assemblage of our best citizens. He is always heard here, in the city of his residence, with pleasure and satisfaction; and even those who cannot subscribe to all his views admire the boldness and ability with which he declares what he believes. His address on the occasion above-mentioned was one of his most masterly efforts."

The St. Louis correspondent of *The Tribune* says: "Gen. McKinstry, having been discharged from arrest, and thereby acquitted of even the suspicion of guilt, is now very anxious for a command. This officer, I hear, at the outset of the war, held very strong pro-slavery opinions, but, like thousands of others—including, we may hope, many West Point graduates like himself—has seen the true cause of the war revealed. He is now an avowed friend of emancipation as the speediest means of crushing the rebellion."

Anna E. Dickinson, we are particularly gratified to learn, is meeting with great success in her labors as a lecturer in New England. A friend in Boston writes: "She made a very beautiful address yesterday (Sunday) at the Music Hall, delighting a very great audience." The Fall River *Press* calls her "the New Star," and says of her lecture in that place:

"If to have an audience remain quiet, attentive and sympathizing, during the delivery of a long lecture, is any indication of the ability, tact and success of the speaker, we think it may be claimed for Miss Dickinson that she is a compeer worthy to be admitted as a particular star in the large and brilliant constellation of genius and talent, now endeavoring to direct the country to the goal of negro emancipation. Music Hall was filled to overflowing; hundreds of the audience went early, and must have sat there more than an hour before the lecture began; and yet, we do not remember to have seen less signs of weariness and inattention at any lecture we ever attended in this city. Her voice is clear and penetrating, without being harsh; her enunciation is very distinct, and at times somewhat rythmic in its character, with enough of a peculiar accent to indicate that her home has not been in Massachusetts. Her whole appearance and manner are decidedly attractive, earnest and expressive. Her lecture was well arranged, logical, and occasionally eloquent, persuasive and pathetic."

At Newport, R. I., her success was equally marked. A writer in *The Liberator* says:

"Her address was of remarkable ability and eloquence, and kept the full house spell-bound through the whole time of its delivery. Even the *rough* element, so often blatant, was completely hushed. This young lady has statesmanship much beyond our twaddling politicians and time-serving priests, and will do a powerful work in the right direction. She is mighty in spirit, to the pulling down the strongholds of oppression, that there may be a newer uprising in that righteousness which exalts a nation. She is a capital instructor of the people and should be aided to the utmost in the field of her labors."

A Newport correspondent of that pro-slavery sheet, the Providence *Press*, thus confesses her power:

"Miss Dickinson is about nineteen years of age, of an intellectual cast of countenance, and is a bold, fluent, and even eloquent speaker, handling her subject 'without gloves,' and leaving no one in doubt in regard to her views, her sentiments, and the reason therefor. Who she is, any further than is expressed by her nomenclature, whence she came, and whither she is tending, is beyond our ken; but this we will venture to say—that if she was born a Quaker, she *has got bravely over it*. To witness the boldness of her manner, speech and gesticulation, one is almost led to the conclusion that she only needs the sword, the charger and the opportunity, to become a second Joan of Arc, and, placing herself in the stead of McClellan, whom she affects to underrate, lead the 'grand army' on to victory and to glory. Her discourse was wholly extempore, and was delivered in a clear, distinct, undaunted tone, and in such a manner as to at once command and receive the undivided atttention of her auditors. It was plainly to be seen from the commencement that she had been taught in the school of the Phillipses, the Garrisons, the Greeleys, etc.—men who believe that the success of the present war for the Union depends entirely as to whether it be made a war of extermination against slavery, or an attempt to restore the Union *as it was*—which latter, albeit, she rates as among the impossibilities. We are at a loss to conceive whence sprung this new champion in petticoats of an anti-slavery war; but in sending her forth, her coadjutors have made a wise selection—for, with the tongue of *a dozen women*, she combines the boldness of forty men, and presuming upon her sex, will boldly utter sentiments in condemnation of men and measures, the utterance of which by one of the sterner sex might at times, and in some places, subject him to some little inconvenience. Nevertheless, it is a treat to listen to the woman, so bewitching (if we may apply the term) is the eloquence of her tongue and the significance of her gesture."

Those who come to the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society will probably have an opportunity to hear this young champion of the cause.

NEW ANTI-SLAVE TRADE TREATY.—We hear with great satisfaction that the President of the United States, in order to evince to Great Britain his desire to cooperate with her for the utter suppression of the foreign slave trade, lately authorized Mr. Seward to negotiate a new treaty, to that effect, with Lord Lyons. The British Minister responded warmly to the proposition, and the negotiation was entered upon at once. What was a labor of love to both diplomats did not require much time for completion; the new treaty was signed by Lord Lyons and Mr. Seward on the 7th inst.; and, immediately after, was submitted to the consideration of the Senate's Committee of Foreign Relations, who have reported favorably upon it. As the text has not yet been published, we cannot judge of the merits of the instrument; but it is said that the President has agreed, under proper restrictions, to the Right of Search, so that, if the treaty shall be approved by the Senate and ratified by Great Britain, as we presume it will be, the American flag will cease to be the chief protection of the infamous traffic.

DELAWARE.—The Delaware *State Journal* applauds the course of George P. Fisher, from that State, in voting for emancipation in the District of Columbia, and intimates that popular sentiment is running strongly in the same direction. The Delaware *Inquirer*, a Douglas Democratic paper, publishes communications which justify Mr. Fisher very decidedly. A strong effort, it is understood, will shortly be made to place little Delaware among the free States.

NOTICE.—Members of the American, Pennsylvania, Western, or Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, contributing annually to the funds of either of these Societies, can receive a copy of the last very valuable Report of the American Society, entitled, *The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year*, by sending a request to that effect to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 221 Washington street, Boston, and enclosing stamps sufficient to prepay the postage, viz., *fourteen cents*.

New Publications.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE BARONS OF THE SOUTH; or, The Rationale of the American Conflict. By E. W. REYNOLDS. Boston: Walker, Wise and Company, 245 Wash. st., 1862.—12mo. pp. 240.

THIS book goes to the root of the matter. It seeks, finds and clearly reveals the remote causes of the war that is now beneficently distracting our country; and it uses the light thus thrown upon the origin of our disease to point out the treatment indispensable to a cure.

It declares, and shows, that the American civil war is a war of Principles, a war of historical forces, lying deep as the foundations of human nature, and working wide as the scope of human action; and it points out the necessary consequence, not only that no immediate peace is to be expected, but that no peace can be honorable, advantageous or permanent, which does not make a settlement on principle of the great question at issue, establishing and enthroning the right and utterly extirpating the wrong.

Taking this just view of the *nature* of the conflict, our author next looks for its germ, its first remote manifestation. He finds this at the very opening of the settlement of this country. In 1620, in the very year when the Mayflower brought its band of Puritans to Massachusetts, a Dutch ship brought a cargo of negroes to Virginia.

The Massachusetts pilgrims brought to their settlements the germ of a civilization including freedom of thought, the widest education of the whole community, equal rights under the law for all, an honorable estimate of useful labor, and the largest development of society in every direction.

The Dutch ship brought, with its slaves, the germ of a civilization radically different; a social order founded on, and tending to perpetuate, the widest distinction of classes, and an utter disregard of justice in the relation between them; a social order despising religious principle, ignoring justice, restricting education, and degrading labor by making it the badge of inferior condition.

Every one knows that the Massachusetts Puritans were of that class which has since wrought such vast and beneficent reforms in the government and laws of England, gradually diminishing the prerogatives of the crown, step by step securing more and more rights for the subject. But comparatively few people know the origin, character and connections of the first settlers of Virginia. Our author has done good service in collecting and republishing the testimony of history in regard to that matter. After pointing out that the Cavaliers who settled in Virginia were of that effeminate and supercilious nobility which in England upheld the oppressive Stuarts, and vehemently resisted the spirit of political reform, he quotes, from Wilson's American History, the following instructive statements respecting the first emigrants to Virginia:

"Of the one hundred and five persons on the list of emigrants destined to remain, there were no men with families; there were but twelve laborers, and but very few mechanics. The rest were composed of gentlemen of fortune, and of persons of no occupation—mostly of idle and dissolute habits—who had been tempted to join the expedition through curiosity or the hope of gain; a company but poorly calculated to plant an agricultural State in a wilderness" (p. 162). "New emigrants arrived in 1609, most of whom were profligate and disorderly persons, who had been sent off to escape a worse destiny at home" (p. 166). At the time of the first importation of negroes, 1620, "there were very few women in the colony." "Ninety women of reputable character" were soon after sent over, and the colonists purchased them for wives, "the price of a wife rising from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco" (p. 170).

Our author may well ask—"Is this the origin, after all, of the celebrated First Families of Virginia?" But he has generously passed by contemporary statements still less creditable to the persons in question.

He proceeds to point out early indications of the opposite tendencies of the two opposite systems. Slavery obtained a temporary footing in Massachusetts, as in other Northern States. But, everything around being uncongenial, it soon died away, and there was no opposition to the judicial decision that abolished it. In Virginia, on the contrary, the baleful plant of despotism struck deeper and deeper roots; and to the enslavement of negroes was soon added the disfranchisement of poor white men, by an act of the Provincial Assembly.

The different tendencies of the two in respect to popular education were equally marked. As early as 1649 the freemen of Massachusetts enacted the establishment, in every township, of free schools for reading and writing, and, in the larger towns, of grammar schools, competent "to fit youths for the University." But in Virginia, as late as 1671, Gov. Berkeley said, in a Report made to the Privy Council—"I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years."

Proceeding to show that a system of slaveholding is incompatible alike with the love of liberty and the love of order, our author concludes his first part with the important statement that republican society was not launched under as favorable auspices as many have supposed.

In treating of "Our Political Apostacy," our author notices the influence, most disastrous to the interests of freedom, of the location of the Capital in a slave territory; he quotes some of the monstrous injustice embodied in the Black Code of the District of Columbia; and he shows how both Congressional and Executive action have been constantly urged into complicity with slavery, even in the most important emergencies, by that fatal locality, and by the opinions and interests which it cherishes.

In brief, but clear and impressive chapters, we next have sketched the territorial extension of slavery, the pernicious system of slave representation, and the success of the despotic power in construing the Constitution, controlling the Supreme Court, and subduing the Church. This last is rightly esteemed the crowning evidence of the submission of the country to the control of the slave system.

Part III. of this book, entitled "Our Political Regeneration," treats of the various movements that have been made in opposition to this despotism. Briefly describing the heroic enterprises, first of Benjamin Lundy and afterwards of William Lloyd Garrison, and the subsequent holding of conventions and organization of a National Society in opposition to slavery, it also shows how, step by step, every such movement was energetically resisted. It sketches the opposition by mobs, by States, and by the Federal government, and that opposition, yet more widely diffused and more energetic, which sprang from the ties, commercial, political, ecclesiastical and social, which bound the North to the South. And, accurately stating the origin and progress of the Republican party, it shows how the increase of that party was purchased at the cost of a material dilution of the anti-slavery sentiment; how, in restricting their opposition to the *extension* of slavery, the best portion of the Republicans made a disastrous compromise between their principles and the exigency of the time; and how this course, whatever plausible considerations might be urged for it, relied upon the same fallacious guaranties which had deceived the Northern founders of the government, ignored the dreadful lesson which their toleration of slavery had taught, and allowed to that despotic power still another chance to subjugate the republic.

Nothing more clearly shows the just and wide-reaching views of our author upon this great subject, than his suggestion, at the close of this division of it, that possibly—if the South had acquiesced in the election of 1860—the instincts of slavery, so long active in the government, might have proved too potent for the integrity of the new Administration; that the fair hopes built upon Mr. Lincoln's elevation to the Presidency might have withered in the distant result; and that Providence was more merciful to the land than it seemed, in releasing the wild-fire of rebellion, thus preventing our fond assurance from becoming a fatal snare.

Part IV., treating of "The Rebellion of the Barons," sketches the plot of Aaron Burr, and the movements subsequently called "Nullification," and shows how our present rebellion was the logical result of the peculiar social system of the South. It describes the ripening of the treason, the final organization of the plot in Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet, the drama of insurrection, the unavailing Northern offers of compromise, and the significant fact that the better era which followed sprang rather from a suicidal hardihood in the South than from either soundness or firmness of principle in the North.

The Inaugural Address of the new President was one of the sad specimens of Northern weakness. Failing to recognize the true character of the conspiracy, it undertook to *argue* down an armed rebellion, immense in extent and enormous in audacity. Asserting that the laws must be executed in all the States, it yet disclaimed the intention of resorting to arms unless the rebels first used them; and worse than all, holding out another fruitless concession to that disdainful oligarchy, it affirmed the obligation of the statute for the surrender of fugitive slaves.

All was in vain. The sword, so long brandished threateningly against the government, was at length actively used by the secessionists. The war commenced. And then the President gave a new proof of his insufficiency, by leaving slavery untouched, and ignoring the power of emancipation which the war itself had created for him.

In part V., which closes this book, the author points out how, though the rebellion was most vulnerable through slavery, the government still chose to protect slavery, favoring the rebels at the expense of the Union. A chapter is devoted to the shameful orders to this effect, emanating from various Generals, and from the President himself. The war was degraded, and the army was degraded in the interest of slavery; and the government, following a policy of which it is hard to say whether the wickedness or the weakness is most conspicuous, obstinately repelled four million of most valuable allies, because they could not be welcomed without destroying slavery. Thus, also, the Union was obliged still to stand on the defensive, greatly increasing the risk of a recognition of the rebels by foreign powers as an independent nation.

The first deviation from this disgraceful and ruinous course of policy was shown in the orders sent with the great naval expedition to Port Royal. However inadequate to the emergency, they showed that the tide had begun to turn, and that slavery was no longer to be encouraged and aided. Subsequent acts, both of the President and of Congress, have gone much more strongly in the same direction. It now seems scarcely possible but that this wicked institution, the crime and the curse of our nation, must pine and dwindle till it dies. Our great need, however, is of measures of active hostility against it, on the part of the President and Congress, of every official connected with the government, of our armies in the field, and of all classes and conditions of the people at home, to hasten this process as much as may be, and utterly to uproot every fibre of the system.

Such is the lesson of this book, and it is most impressively and powerfully taught. It tells us that slave society and free society have each their peculiar instincts, each developing agreeably to its own law, and that where these are neighbors, they *must* encroach one upon another, *must* conflict, *must* quarrel. There is no safety for either but in the utter overthrow of the other. If our government and our people will not heed this lesson, they will richly deserve the ruin that must follow.

COMPANION TO THE REBELLION RECORD; being a Supplementary Volume. Edited by FRANK MOORE. Part I. New York: G. P. Putnam.

Among the contents of this number we find the Speech of John Bright at Rochdale; the Confederate Sequestration Act; Speeches of Joseph Holt and William Curtis Noyes; Senator Sumner's address, "The Rebellion, its Origin and Mainspring"; Birth and Death of Nations, by James McKaye; Gen. Beauregard's Report of the Battle of Manassas; Speech of Daniel S. Dickinson at Tunkhannock, Pa., and many other documents connected with and throwing light upon the Rebellion. The number is embellished with fine engraved likenesses of Joseph Holt and Charles Sumner.

BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW for April (New York, D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 164 William street) contains six papers, with the following titles:

1. The Church not a Despotism.
2. Essays on the Reformation.
3. State Rebellion, State Suicide.
4. Emancipation and Colonization.
5. Weninger's Protestantism and Infidelity.
6. Literary Notices and Criticisms.

Orestes A. Brownson, the editor of this work, and the author of all, or nearly, that appears from time to time in its pages, is known, by reputation at least, to all our readers. He is a man of the highest order of intellect, and a writer combining the ponderous force of Webster with the clearness of Channing. It is a pleasure to read the English language as it flows in a broad, clear stream from his pen. His religious history is familiar to our readers. An extreme Protestant once, he is now, as he has been for many years, a firm Catholic, and perhaps the ablest champion of Catholicism in all the country. The first article in the present number of *The Quarterly*, "The Church not a Despotism," is an attempt to show that Catholicism, rightly understood and administered, is in harmony with Republican civilization, and that it seems otherwise in this country only because the priesthood and people, being for the most part immigrants from foreign lands, needlessly and unwisely cling to certain usages which have grown up under the institutions of the old world. The Church here, he says, is in an abnormal state, having no root in the life of the nation, but presenting a "foreign aspect" that greatly hinders her growth. "We need," he says, "a reform in the Church, not *out* of the Church, nor *of* the Church, but *in* the Church, so that the Church, in her idea and in her children, may be presented as truly catholic, before we can make much progress in the work of converting those outside." His efforts to promote the needed reform are evidently very distasteful in high quarters, insomuch that many of the faithful stand in fear of him, lest he should, after all, turn out to be a Protestant. He vindicates himself, however, with great earnestness, assuring his Catholic brethren that their distrust of his orthodoxy is unfounded, and that both Catholics and non-Catholics will always find him, when it comes to the test, staunch and uncompromising for the faith he professes.

Our attention, however, has been drawn to this periodical, not on account of its theological and ecclesiastical status, but because its pages are in part devoted to the work of uprooting slavery. Mr. Brownson brings to this work all his great intellectual powers, and as he has access to many influential minds hitherto under pro-slavery influence and prejudice, we indulge the hope that his labors will powerfully tend to evoke a public opinion which will demand the freedom of every slave as the only sure way of putting down the rebellion. The article in the number now before us, under the title, "State Rebellion, State Suicide," is a masterly vindication of the doctrine so lucidly set forth in Mr. Sumner's resolutions before the Senate. The extracts which we have placed on the first page of this sheet are a fair specimen of its vigorous logic and statesmanlike tone. In the article on "Emancipation and Colonization" Mr. Brownson, we are sorry to see, countenances the idea that the best good of the whites and blacks would be promoted by the colonization of the latter. "We are disposed," he says, "to agree with President Lincoln, Postmaster-General Blair, and many distinguished members of both Houses of Congress, that the best mode of dealing with the emancipated slaves is to colonize them outside of the United States, at the earliest reasonable moment." But he adds: "We do not for ourselves, however, make emancipation turn on colonization. *We insist on emancipation for its own sake, colonization, or no colonization.*"

Mr. Brownson having enlisted his powerful pen in the work of abolishing slavery, and thereby incurred the bitter hostility of pro-slavery Catholics, we hope the friends of freedom, of every sect, will rally to the support of his Review. It costs but $3 per annum.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY for May (New York, J. R. Gilmore, 532 Broadway) contains the articles named below:

What Shall we Do with it? By Hon. John W. Edmonds.
A Philosophical Bankrupt.
The Molly O'Molly Papers, No. 3.
All Together—a poem.
A True Story. By Miss McFarlane.
Maccaroni and Canvas, Part 3. By H. P. Leland.
Fairies—a poem.
John Bright. By George M. Towle.
The Ante-Norse Discoverers of America. By C. G. Leland.
State Rights.
Roanoke Island. By Frederic Kidder.
A Story of Mexican Life.
Changed—a poem.
Hamlet a Fat Man. By Carlton Edwards.
The Knights of the Golden Circle.
Columbia's Safety—a poem.
Urea Major. By H. B. Brownwell.
Fugitives at the West. By S. C. Blackwell.
The Education to be.
Guerdon—a poem.
Literary Notices.
Editor's Table.

"THE MONITOR" is the name of a new weekly journal, which comes to us in quarto shape from that town of Revolutionary and literary fame, Concord, Mass. It is entirely impersonal, but in reading its columns we are irresistibly reminded that Emerson, Wasson, Channing, Thoreau and Sanborn live in the old town—*live*, not vegetate. We venture to predict that whoever sends $1.25, directed to "The Monitor, Concord, Mass.," will get his money's worth in 25 numbers of the new periodical. We find in the first number the following:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
[AFTER LEIGH HUNT.]

Abraham Lincoln—may his shade decrease—
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw within the moonlight in the room,
Making it rich and like a lily in bloom,
An angel writing in a book of gold;
Exceeding peace had made A. Lincoln bold,
And to the presence in the room he said,
"What writest thou?" The vision raised its head,
And with a look so sweet, yet stern as fate,
Answered, "The names the people own as great."
"And is mine one?" said Lincoln.—"Nay, not so,"
Replied the angel. Lincoln spoke more low,
But cheerly still, and said,—"I pray thee then
To write my name among the honest men."
The angel wrote, and vanished. The next night
It came again, with great awakening light,
And showed the names America had blest,—
And, lo! A. Lincoln's name led all the rest.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for May (Boston, Ticknor and Fields) has come to hand only in time for us to print this week the table of contents, as follows:

Man under Sealed Orders; by Rev. J. Treadwell Walden, Norwich, Ct.
My Garden; by Miss M. A. Dodge.
Lyrics of the Street: 1. The Telegrams; by Julia Ward Howe.
The South Breaker; by Miss Harriet E. Prescott.
Methods of Study in Natural History; by Louis Agassiz.
Spirits; by Mrs. L. Maria Child.
The Titmouse; by Ralph Waldo Emerson.
Saltpetre as a Source of Power; by Prof. A. A. Hayes.
Weather in War; by C. C. Hazewell.
Lines written under a Portrait of Theodore Winthrop.
Hindrance; by David A. Wasson.
The Statesmanship of Richelieu; by Prof. A. D. White, of the University of Michigan.
Under the Snow; by the late Gen. F. W. Lander.
Slavery, in its Principles, Development, and Expedients.
The Volunteer; by Elbridge J. Cutler.
Speech of Hon. Preserved Doe in Secret Caucus; by James Russell Lowell.
Reviews and Literary Notices.

"DECLARED FREE."—Notice the order of Gen. Hunter, printed on the first page, wherein it is declared that the slaves lately held by the enemies of the United States in Fort Pulaski and on Cockspur Island "*are hereby confiscated and* DECLARED FREE." Cheering words indeed.

Chronicles of the War.

Battle in New Mexico.

THE report of the Union victory at Apache Pass, New Mexico, is confirmed. Our loss amounts to one hundred and fifty killed, wounded and missing. The enemy acknowledge their loss to be from three hundred to four hundred killed and wounded. Ninety-three rebels, including thirteen officers, were taken prisoners, sixty-four waggons laden with provisions and ammunition, were captured by our forces and burned. The Texans fell back to Santa Fé.

The Surrender of Fort Pulaski.

Gen. Hunter, in his official dispatch to the War Department, states that the batteries were opened on the fort on the 10th inst. After a bombardment lasting thirty hours a practicable breach was made, and preparations for storming were about to commence when the rebel flag was struck. By this surrender we have gained possession of forty-seven cannon, seven thousand shot and shells, forty thousand pounds of powder, three hundred and sixty prisoners, with their small arms and accoutrements, and a good supply of provisions. One of our men was killed, and one wounded slightly. The Confederates' loss was three wounded.

Advance of Banks and McDowell.

On the 18th inst. a portion of Gen. McDowell's army occupied Fredericksburg. The march was commenced on Thursday, from near Warrenton Junction, Col. Kilpatrick, of the Ira Harris Cavalry. They made a forced march across the country, and on Friday drove a regiment of rebel infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and a battery of artillery before them, and occupied the suburbs of Fredericksburg in the evening. Our loss was five killed and sixteen wounded.

Gen. Banks is moving up the Shenandoah toward Staunton, and arrived on the 18th at Sparta, Rockingham County, driving the enemy before him. Six thousand of Jackson's troops had passed through the town the evening before. On Sunday, a cavalry reconnoissance from Gen. Banks's command penetrated the Shenandoah valley several miles toward Harrisonburg, and reported that there were large quantities of forage and fresh provisions there. Deserters reported that Gen. Jackson's advance was at McGuagheystown, east of Harrisonburg, and still retreating. Ashby's command continued to form the rear guard. Signal officers reported that the enemy's cavalry was in sight Sunday afternoon. The War Department has received information of the entire evacuation of the valley of the Shenandoah by the rebels, who have retreated over the mountains to Gordonsville. Gen. Banks has troops across the mountains protecting the bridges on the Shenandoah, at Almy, and on the Suray road. Information has been received at Washington, that Gen. Joseph Johnston has about 3,000 rebel troops at Gordonsville, who are ready to fall back preparatory to a general retreat on Richmond.

The Siege of Yorktown.

Gen. McClellan is still encamped before the rebel entrenchments at Yorktown. It is probable that a desperate and bloody conflict will occur there very soon. Gen. McClellan is said to be making formidable preparations, but the task before him is severe, and the result by no means certain. The army is said to be in high heart.

From Gen. Burnside.

We have advices from the Burnside expedition to the 18th. On the 12th four companies of the Connecticut Eighth Regiment had a skirmish with 150 rebels, who made a sortie from Fort Macon, and after a sharp engagement the latter were driven back. Five of our men were wounded, and the rebels were seen to take four men into the fort, one of whom was supposed to be dead. Fort Macon is thoroughly invested, and it being understood that the rebels were short of provisions, it was thought that instead of attacking them, an attempt would be made to starve them out. Fortifications were building at Newbern, in anticipation of an attack by the rebels.

North Carolina.

We learn from Roanoke Island, April 6, that two or three iron-clad steamers have been expected to arrive there from Norfolk. On the 7th inst., the gunboat Virginia, with 600 men, went up to Elizabeth City to capture a party of rebel soldiers. Two companies of the State Militia were found. Half of them succeeded in running away, the rest, 80 in number, were captured and brought down to Roanoke. Other gunboats were sent to destroy the canal, in order, we suppose, to prevent the iron boats from coming down from Norfolk.

From the Southwest.

There is nothing of special importance from the Southwestern army. The rebels are said to be busily preparing to make a desperate stand at Corinth, and troops are constantly arriving at Memphis—probably from the Gulf States and Arkansas. Our troops taken prisoners at Pittsburg were being sent to Richmond, though it does not appear over what route they are conveyed. The latest advices from Com. Foote leave him still engaged in bombarding Fort Wright. The rebels had cut the levees on the Arkansas side, which had resulted in the overflow of a great extent of valuable farming country, causing much exasperation among the residents in that vicinity.

Summary.

The Union troops, as they embarked to take possession of Fort Pulaski, after the surrender, sang the "John Brown" song and "The Star-spangled Banner."

EMANCIPATION-REJOICING IN PROVIDENCE.—The people of Providence were jubilant over the glorious news of Emancipation in the District of Columbia. One hundred guns were fired in honor of the event.

The congregation of one of the Churches in Troy, N. Y., were somewhat amused, Sunday morning, to find in each of the pews a printed card, informing them where to get their whitewashing done. The sexton of the church, a colored man, is an artist in lime, and adopted this novel way of soliciting patronage. He ought to have it.

An eminent American, formerly a Democrat, who has for some time past resided in Europe, writes *The Tribune* a letter, from which we quote as follows:

"We are crazy if we preserve the *status* of slavery. I should as soon think of preserving a mad dog that had bitten and killed my children."

HAPPY TIMES FOR THE NEGRO.—The Louisville *Democrat* says: "An old darkey, while enjoying the privileges accorded to him by these happy (?) times, was heard to exclaim: 'Bress the Lord, hallelujer, dat dis ole nigger should lib to see dis ere happy time, when white men must hab a pass to move about, and nigger go where him please widout one. Bress the Lord.'"

SCOTCH MINSTRELSY.—The following lines are taken from the Glasgow (Scotland) *Examiner*.

'Neath a ragged Palmetto a Southerner sat,
A twisting the band of his Panama hat,
And trying to lighten his mind of a load,
By humming the words of the following ode:

Oh! for a darkey, Oh! for a whip,
Oh! for a cocktail, and Oh! for a nip;
Oh! for a shot at old Greeley and Beecher,
Oh! for a crack at a Yankee school-teacher;
Oh! for a captain, and Oh! for a ship,
Oh! for a cargo of darkeys each trip.

And so he kept on Oh-ing, for what he had not,
Not content with owing for all that he'd got.

WHY SAVANNAH WAS NOT TAKEN.—Gen. Sherman has arrived here, and *his* case is very widely and thoroughly discussed. Why did he not take Savannah? He had a private meeting with the Rhode Island delegation a few days since, and exhibited to them Gen. McClellan's order prohibiting him from making any attempt on that city! This is a positive fact, and he is obliged to make it known to save his own reputation. Very many people in this vicinity have been inclined to blame Sherman because of his slackness before Savannah. He says that when he was ready to do something Com. Dupont refused to cooperate with him. That finally that difficulty was arranged, a siege train had been sent him from the North, and all was ready, when the explicit order to desist from all operations against Savannah came from Gen. McClellan.—*Wash. Cor. Springfield Repub.*

THANKS FOR EMANCIPATION.—Rev. Thos. H. Stockton, Chaplain, made the following prayer in the U. S. House of Representatives on the 17th:

"We thank Thee for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. We thank Thee for the emancipation of slaves in the Capital of our country. We thank Thee that our soil is now free from slavery, and that this air is now free air, and so shall remain forever. We accept this great blessing, not as the result of human manifestation—not as a matter of party policy—but as a Divine intervention; as a development of another form of confirmation of Thy great and glorious purpose, to carry on and complete the whole work of human redemption. Therefore we bless and magnify Thy most excellent name, uniting with the Churches of all lands, and of all ages in saying: Glory be unto the Father, and unto the Son, and unto the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end!"

COST OF SLAVE TERRITORY.—The following table shows how much money has really been paid by the United States government to extend the area of slave territory:

Louisiana, purchased of France	$15,000,000
Interest paid	8,385,353
Florida, purchased of Spain	5,000,000
Interest paid	1,430,000
Texas, for boundary	10,000,000
Texas, for indemnity	10,000,000
Texas, for creditors, last Congress	7,750,000
Indian expenses of all kinds	5,000,000
To purchase navy, pay troops	5,000,000
All other expenditures	3,000,000
Mexican War	217,175,575
Soldiers' pensions and bounty lands	15,000,000
Florida War	100,000,000
Soldiers' pensions	7,000,000
To remove Indians	5,000,000
Paid by treaty for New Mexico	15,000,000
Paid to extinguish Indian titles	100,000,000
Paid to Georgia	3,082,000
	$832,764,938

This is certainly a nice little sum to pay for the increase of slavery. Three-fourths of the entire amount has been paid by the free States; and yet slavery pretends not to have had its rights in the Union, and is going out to get its rights somewhere else.

STATISTICS OF FREE NEGRO POPULATION.—From the subjoined table, which we compile from the census of 1860, it will be seen that the free negro population of the slaveholding States is considerably in excess over that of the non-slaveholding States.

NUMBER OF FREE NEGROES.

In the Free States.		*In the Slave States.*	
California,	3,816	Alabama,	2,630
Connecticut,	8,542	Arkansas,	137
Illinois,	7,069	Delaware,	19,723
Indiana,	10,869	Florida,	908
Iowa,	1,023	Georgia,	3,459
Kansas,	623	Kentucky,	10,146
Maine,	1,195	Louisiana,	18,638
Massachusetts,	9,454	Maryland,	83,718
Michigan,	6,823	Mississippi,	731
Minnesota,	229	Missouri,	2,983
New Hampshire,	450	North Carolina,	30,097
New Jersey,	24,947	South Carolina,	9,648
New York,	49,005	Tennessee,	7,235
Ohio,	36,225	Texas,	339
Oregon,	121	Virginia,	57,579
Pennsylvania,	56,373	District of Columbia,	11,107
Rhode Island,	3,918		
Vermont,	582	Total,	259,078
Wisconsin,	1,481		
Total,	222,745		

COLORED PROPERTY-HOLDERS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—The following letter exhibits very important facts. Our colored population, with 2,487 males over the age of twenty years, had 1,175 property-holders returned in the census of 1860:

CENSUS OFFICE, DEP'T OF INT.,
WASHINGTON, March 17, 1862.

Hon. LOT M. MORRILL—*Sir:* The value of property owned by the free colored population of the District of Columbia, as returned by the census of 1860, is as follows;

Real estate	$812,040
Personal property	146,894
Total	$758,934

The real estate is owned by 508 persons, averaging $1,205 each. The real and personal property is owned by 1,175 persons, averaging $646 each. The total free colored population in the District of Columbia is 11,131; the value of their property returned averages $68 to each man, woman and child. The number of free colored males over 20 years of age is 2,487.

168 persons return property valued at over $500 and less than $1,000.

153 persons return property valued at over $1,000 and less than $2,000.

40 persons return property valued at over $2,000 and less than $3,000.

18 persons return property valued at over $3,000 and less than $4,000.

10 persons return property valued at over $4,000 and less than $5,000.

5 persons return property valued at over $5,000 and less than $6,000.

6 persons return property valued at over $6,000 and less than $7,000.

1 person returns property valued at over $7,000.

774 return property valued at less than $500 each.

9,956 return no property.

JOHN G. KENNEDY, Superintendent.

—*Washington Republican.*

PECUNIARY STRENGTH OF THE NORTH.—We are not, as yet, touched in the sources of our strength. Our people are brought up to industry, and they are versatile, economical, resilient. If one well gives out, another will be dug. If one fountain fails, another will burst forth. You cannot impoverish this people. You may make them poor, but they will soon be rich again. Our wealth never consisted in immense accumulations, but in the power to accumulate. Our strength consists in the power of the people over nature. I laugh to scorn the idea that there is to be bankruptcy in this country. There may be changes in individuals, but the great foundations are not going to be changed. And among the spectres that rise up to terrify us, there is no gaunt spectre of famine, or disease, or poverty, that stands gibbering and threatening us. Ours is the fairer side of God's providence, which, with outstretched hands and benign blessings, says to this great people, "Peace, peace be unto you."

"We have been living with an amplitude not perhaps greater than our prosperity made proper, but far beyond our fathers' experience, and far beyond our youth's experience; and it will not hurt you and me to live as we did when we were boys and girls. Now we wear five times as many clothes, for expensiveness, as you once did. Thanksgivings have been abolished because your average living is better than the Thanksgiving table used to be. This may be the proper result of wealth and growing refinement; but when the times require that you should go back again in the line of thrift, you ought to be able to do it. It is a shame that wealth should take away our power to do with less. Wealth ought to make manhood tougher, more elastic, and more plastic. You and I ought to be able to eat brown bread and drink water (and we should be cured of many of our ailments if

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

WOMAN'S RIGHT.

"Last at the cross, first at the sepulchre,"
This is the woman's crown,
Not mentioned mid the crowd through which our Lord
From Olivet came down,
But when the mid-day shadow of the cross
Darkened the earth and air,
And when strong angels broke the seal of death,
Woman's true heart was there.

"Last at the cross, first at the sepulchre,"
This is the woman's praise.
She needs no other, through her watchful nights
And through her weary days.
This page is hers of all earth's history;
This science is her own,
To weep with all who suffer, and rejoice
With all whose woes are done.

"Last at the cross, first at the sepulchre,"
This is the woman's task;
She claims it as her privilege and right,
And nought beyond would ask.
Exclude her from all other toils and trusts,
But give her room to be
Where suffering moaneth for a helping hand,
Where waketh liberty.

It is a resurrection morning now,
The stone is rolled away
From Slavery's gloom; behold! its captives come
And greet the dawn of day.
Give place for woman there, the kindly word,
The helping, willing hand
To lead their steps through the mysterious paths
Of Wisdom's wondrous land.

Stand, if ye will, in battle's foremost rank,
And keep the place of strength;
Make laws, rule nations, win the meed of fame,
And guide the world at length.
Give woman place where'er a child would learn
"Our Father, in the sky,"
Where'er the darkened mind is craving light,
Where poor for succor cry.

ELLEN.

THE PARDON OF MR. GORDON.

HIS RELUCTANCE TO RECEIVE IT.

To the Editors of The Cleveland Leader.

MEN generally have reasons for their actions, which, if carried out against their own comfort or interest, however opposed by others, are satisfactory to themselves. With your indulgence, I will be gratified in briefly giving a few of those which made me reluctant to receive the pardon kindly sent me by the President:

1. The pardon assumes guilt on my part, and concludes that "by my imprisonment and sufferings I have atoned sufficiently for my offence." Now, in the transaction for which I was tried and convicted, I never felt, nor acknowledged any guilt whatever. This was openly and earnestly declared to the Court, and has never been retracted. I never asked a pardon on the plea of *mercy;* never authorized my friends to do so, and never said I would accept one so given. Hence the acceptance seemed to admit against myself, what I know to be false—to contradict my own statement—and thus to submit to degrading imputation.

2. The offence charged was hindering one man from enslaving another. This, whenever and wherever in my power, I consider a solemn duty. It is an act that God, and Heaven, and angels approve. How, then, admit guilt for doing it?

3. I understand the President to recognize the legality of the Fugitive Slave act of 1850. My conviction was for "obstructing process" under it, and it is declared "legal." That enactment was concocted by the traitor Mason; its supporters are secessionists, or in sympathy with them; and that the President would baptize this act, with the sacred name of law, and call my conviction for "obstructing" its enforcement "legal" I did not expect. My acceptance seems, in my judgment, to sanction the President's position.

4. The pardon assumes my guilt without any allusion to my conscientious convictions, and in doing so recognizes no appeal to God's "higher law." That law declares: "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." All the forms of slavery are included. The President recently refused the interference of his executive clemency, very earnestly solicited in behalf of Capt. N. Gordon, sentenced for making men slaves; and in this he fulfilled the laws of Sinai. My offence was hindering the very same crime, though attempted under the forms of a diabolical enactment. Now, can God esteem an act which he places first in enormity in from thirty to forty capital offences; and the "obstruction" of the same act, each a sin? Can the hindrance be other than a duty? How can an act, performed by one Gordon, be punished, by Jehovah as Legislator, and carried out by President Lincoln as executive, with death, be compared with the "obstruction" of the same act by another Gordon, and the latter be in that case a criminal? Does not such a conclusion confound right and wrong—mix heaven and hell? That my "offence" was a sin against God, the President don't directly say. But he regards it a crime against the Constitution, and an enactment under it. That I tried to violate a bogus enactment is true, but that the Constitution, or real law was violated, I utterly denied to the Court, and believe so still. If it be true that the "process resisted" was constitutional, then the Constitution in that point is "a covenant with hell," and disobedience to its behests a Christian duty. My imprisonment, no doubt, pleased the devil, and Hunkerdom was jubilant; but I cannot believe that any *real law* "has been vindicated." This was another objection to its acceptance.

The President calls the company with which, towards its close, to a small degree I acted, "riotous." I deny the charge. Civil government is of God, and its heaven-appointed mission the protection of human rights. Whenever it turns and crushes these rights, it becomes "*riotous*"—a *mob force*. In this, slaveholding constitutes its greatest possible departure into political apostasy. It annihilates humanity with all its rights—barters the image of God—sells Christ himself in the persons of "his little ones, the least of his brethren," and had it the power, would enslave the Almighty himself, and reduce Him to merchandise. Could it sell for money the souls of its victims after death, and Perdition patronize a soul market, about as few would escape its ghostly auction-block as are now favored with their liberty by the emancipating generosity of their masters. The really "riotous" proceedings in our case were instigated by the official kidnappers, acting under an unconstitutional and diabolical enactment, and trying to do an act which God abhors, and in which devils glory. This constituted another difficulty in accepting the pardon.

To all this it has been argued that the pardon, with its benefits, is mine—the reasons the President's, to justify himself to the nation. This seems hardly frank and candid; I take the benefits, and blame the President for officially slandering me, in the deed of conveyance. As the President had "other divers good and sufficient reasons," probably some of them would have suited me better. The best, and, it seems to me only good one, is omitted altogether. That is, that the fugitive act, to Northern people (who now constitute nearly all that are loyal), is generally repulsive; but few, and they the meanest, will help to enforce it. Many think it constitutionally void, and God-fearing men believe it a duty to oppose and violate it. The proceedings he calls "riotous," in other and varied forms, have occurred in the best communities—the holiest men been engaged in them, and a good many of them suffered for doing so. Why could not the President make a distinction between my case—suppose I acted from honest but mistaken convictions—and that of the common felon, who knows he is violating the laws of God and man? Yet, for aught I can see, he turns me out as he would a thief or robber, who "by his sufferings had atoned for his offence." These, right or wrong, were my chief difficulties. For yielding to the seemingly universal judgment of others, and the very tenderest appeals of cherished friends, no one is likely to blame me. I have feared I should blame myself. That the President merits and has my gratitude, is true. The kind sympathy and interest of friends in all ranks of life, have half removed my sufferings, and to one and all I feel intensely grateful. Of course, Messrs. Editors, I do not expect your endorsement of my own views, and, therefore, for your kindness, the use of your columns, and all you have done for me, you have my thanks. Some may suppose I am worried by the abuse of *The Herald*, but it is not so. Any man of sense, or without sense, who has read all their bayings since they fixed their noses on my track, and is not disgusted, "*ad nauseum*," I would not give a sixpence for his good opinion. The pointless platitudes, sorry falsehoods and witless wit of *The Herald*, do not get high enough for contempt. If hurting my feelings is part of their pay, they work without wages.

GEO. GORDON.

NOTHING indicates greater ignorance of the history of the Church and of the history of mankind, nothing is more fitted to reduce the intellect to imbecility, and to carry back the race to barbarism, than the idea that we have nothing more to learn, that Christianity has come down to us pure and perfect, and that our only duty is implicitly to receive the lessons of our catechisms.—*Channing.*

THE BLOODY BATTLE OF PITTSBURG.

Correspondence of The World.

CAIRO, April 12.

BOAT after boat continues to arrive with loads of wounded sufferers from the battle. Boat after boat continues to leave with surgeons, nurses, and hospital supplies for the scene of the disaster. Hotels, streets, cars, and steamboats are crowded with the relatives and friends of the sufferers. It is a time of lamentation and woe to thousands of hearts.

This universal distress on account of the welfare of our brave troops is due to the fact that it is generally believed to have been one of the most bloody and dearly-bought victories the world has yet seen. That there has been an alarming sacrifice of life is certain, though not quite so large as the first reports have represented it. There is a peculiar significance in the inquiries of many who are disposed to ask if it were not a massacre instead of a battle.

We have conversed with scores of them, and have thus formed a more perfect and rounded idea of the affair than anything given in the dispatches. All accounts agree that it was a most dreadful battle, and that a grave responsibility rests on some shoulders for the lamentable sacrifice of life.

We have indeed succeeded in repulsing the attack of the enemy. The victory is clearly ours; but we have gained it at tremendous loss. It does not afford us much consolation to know that the loss of the enemy is far greater than our own. Our loss is still twice as large as it should have been. Our loss in wounded can hardly be ascertained for a few days yet. That of the killed may never be known, as they are being buried in numbers in places where they have fallen. The best accounts place the number on our side at 3,000 killed, and nearly 2,000 wounded. Missing, we shall have probably 3,500. On the rebel side it is estimated that they will have fully 5,000 men killed, and 15,000 disabled. Prisoners, we have only taken less than 500.

Notwithstanding the exertions of our surgeons the mortality must be alarming. The confusion into which the army was thrown, and the rains which have recently fallen, have rendered the work of gathering in the wounded a work of great labor. The pursuit and guard against a fresh demonstration from the enemy necessarily occupied the first attention of the commander. The ambulances had early been put into requisition, the hospital tents filled to repletion. Men laid stiffened in the mud in long rows lining the bank. Boats appropriated to the use of the wounded were speedily loaded up and passed on their way down. Several days will elapse before all the sufferers are brought in, as they are scattered over the woods for a space of five miles square. Here, too, are presented the most awful spectacles of human suffering which even the horrors of a battlefield can exhibit. The leaves on the woods being dry on the first day, they had caught fire in places from the camp fires, shells, and wadding, and had burned to death such of the men as had fallen unable to crawl away. The piteous sight of men of both sides with their charred garments still clinging to their blackened forms, the hair and beard singed to the head, the hands uplifted, as if shielding themselves from the stifling flames, could be seen in several places. The rain of Sunday night, Monday, and Tuesday had fallen upon the writhing victims and beat out the remnant of fleeting life. The features of the men blackened with powder and dirt, washed into pallid whiteness, their heads reclining on the dreamless pillow of mud, the excruciating groans of the wounded, laid as they were in groups; the moans of those in the deepest agonies of pain, and the glaring, staring eyes of the dying, formed indeed one of the most touching, but terrible pictures imaginable.

Thousands upon thousands left upon the ground in all the attitudes of pain, of grief, of repose, and of fury; some with their guns, cartridges, and ramrods still in hand, stricken by the leaden bolt, and dropped in helpless death, a dark pool of blood betraying how suddenly life's current had stopped. Shattered heads and pierced bodies formed by far the greater portion of the killed on both sides. The rebels appear to have had in part old muskets and common rifles and shot-guns; our wounds are consequently numerous, but lighter than those inflicted by the gashing Minie ball. They had about fifteen thousand men armed with the English rifle, quite new, and thirty thousand armed with Harper's Ferry muskets. We have seen some of the flesh wounds inflicted by them, which are exceedingly severe.

The greater portion of the fighting was by the men in line—infantry principally—and the great bulk of the wounds are by muskets. Here and there on the upper portion of the field, occupied in the beginning by the divisions of Hurlbut and Prentiss, might be seen clusters of shattered and mangled bodies, the effect of our shells and grape-shot. Piles of them for ten feet square could be seen where it would seem a shell or a charge of canister had literally shorn them down like grain. The rebels occupied these camps during the night of Sunday, and, regardless of the orders of their men, remained in crowds to plunder our camps. It was here that Tyler threw in shells occasionally during the afternoon and night, and the horrid carnage tells how fearfully effective had been his fire. Torn, mangled, and disfigured in dozens, with their bloody wounds gaping fresh by the moisture. Cavalry had been there, as could be seen from the horses intermingled all over the camp for miles,

"Rider and horse in one red burial blent."

EMANCIPATION IN WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, April 13, 1862.

TO-DAY has been a holiday, vocal with praises and hallelujahs from the band who look toward to-morrow with hope; yet has it been also a sad day, full of tears and aching hearts, and terrible partings forever, because the Senate did not hold a session yesterday, and finish the good work they began, by sending the law to the President, and asking him to give it life on the anniversary of Sumter. And so the half-born blessing, which might have sprung defiantly to its feet, and carried balm to a thousand hearts and homes, is nothing but dead parchment on the Senatorial table. Its voice should have rung through this Capital like a trumpet-blast yesterday; but I suppose the clerk's dainty fingers tucked the charter under the pink-tape girth on Friday night, as composedly as if human hopes and human lives were not bound up in it.

For, it must be understood, during the three days and nights that elapse before it can be approved and proclaimed, the red-handed kidnappers are driving their business with energy. The number to whom the boon of freedom will finally come is diminishing every hour. The hirelings of slavery are seeking most assiduously for the wretched beings whom liberty is so near, in parlors and kitchens and garrets, in hotels and streets, in alleys and by-places where they flee for refuge, and are dragging them thence, and carrying them into Maryland. Much of the infernal work is done in the night; and so energetically is this trade prosecuted that nearly all the slaves who will bring more than the stipulation in the bill ($300) will be taken away before it becomes a law. The Slave Power, though weakened and hampered by the war, seems to have lost none of its financial sagacity; it will make, once more, the same "good bargain" that has always distinguished its transactions, and will cheat the government as usual. The slaves who will remain to be freed on Tuesday, judging from their present unwilling exodus, would not bring an average of $200, if sold at the auction block in Maryland. Yet is the bargain a good one, though the shambles' value is against us; for no gold can be an equivalent for freedom, and national self-respect is forever without price.

In anticipation of the liberty-day that seems so near to them, the slaves all over the city, and the free negroes, who are connected with them by the ties of kindred and sympathy, are dressed in their best to-day (many of them in their seedy best, to be sure), and are assembled to celebrate this Sabbath as a day of praise and thanksgiving. I have talked with several "candidates" this evening, from whom I gather that this "Thanksgiving Day" has been kept joyously in nearly all of their seventeen churches. There seems to have been preconcert among them, and the afternoon was devoted to love feats.

I attended the Bethel Church, near the Capitol, this morning. The black clergyman preached a very good sermon from the text, "If God be for us, who can be against us?" to an audience of 200 or 300 of his own people.

He spoke of the deliverance of Moses and the children of Israel from bondage; and by a natural transition, referred to the condition of the slaves in America, and especially in this District. He thanked the Lord most fervently that he had been permitted to live to see this day; 43 years ago he was tarred and feathered in Washington because he would preach the Lord Jesus as he understood it; "but now," shouted the sable speaker, "let Ethiopia lift up her hands to God, for a great good is coming out of this war!—a good for me, good for us, and for our people whom every nation has set its heel upon!" His audience was boisterously joyous, from the beginning to the end of the discourse. Of course, the expressions and demonstrations were extravagant—true to the quick fancy and fervent hearts of the race. Some rubbed their hands in glee, some laughed outright, some leaped up in the air or twisted themselves into grotesque attitudes, as if their joy was too intense to be entertained at a staid perpendicular; many shouted "Glory to God!" "Hallelujah!" "Amen!" "The blessed day has come!" etc.; while nearly all were in tears. When the speaker thanked the Lord that the slaves were to be free, the jubilee became utterly indescribable. What a Babel of triumphant voices! An old "aunt," off in the right-hand upper corner, shouted and wept persistently. Probably she had a reason for it, I thought—perhaps two or three of them, helpless, and in the hands of the kidnappers. "Glory to God!" said the preacher, solemnly and slowly. "Glory to Lovejoy!" yelled a voice at the right that belonged to a strongly-built mulatto. "No," commanded the speaker instantly, *I* tell you glory to *God!*" for he seemed determined from the first word that God should have the undivided praise, refusing to give a moiety to the President or Congress. A pair of hands clenched spasmodically the top of the seat in which I was sitting. I looked back, and the man was hopping up and down, as if he had just caught a glimpse of heaven, and presently interrupted the speaker by trying to sing, "I am bound for the land of Canaan." His face bore a deep scar across the nose, and tears were streaming from the long furrows of his cheeks. He had seen 30 years, perhaps, and the light gray rags that he gathered about him told me that he had "come out of the house of bondage." Most of the hearers were partly white; many were mulattoes, quadroons, octoroons—and one or two women, I imagined, would attract attention, for their good looks, in Broadway. But what a day of sunshine it was to the stricken souls! They seemed to think little of the kidnapper; they were full of hope, and looked ahead. Such a chorus of exultation I never heard before; such joyful gestures I never beheld—it was a spectacle for men and angels.

God grant that the hour of deliverance be near.—W. A. C.—*Tribune.*

THE GUIDE-POST.

[Translated by BAYARD TAYLOR, from the Alemannic-German dialect of JOHN PETER HEBEL, for *The Atlantic Monthly.*]

D' ye know the road to th' bar'l o' flour?
At break o' day let down the bars,
And plow y'r wheat-field, hour by hour,
Till sundown—yes, till shine o' stars.

You peg away, the livelong day,
Nor loaf about, nor gape around;
And that 's the road to the thrashin'-floor,
And into the kitchen, I 'll be bound!

D' ye know the road where dollars lays?
Follow the red cents, here and there:
For if a man leaves them, I guess,
He won't find dollars anywhere.

D' ye know the road to Sunday's rest?
Jist don't o' week-days be afeard;
In field and workshop do y'r best,
And Sunday comes itself, I 've heerd.

On Saturdays it 's not far off,
And brings a basketful o' cheer,—
A roast, and lots o' garden-stuff,
And, like as not, a jug o' beer!

D' ye know the road to poverty?
Turn in at any tavern-sign:
Turn in,—it 's temptin' as can be:
There 's bran'-new cards and liquor fine.

In the last tavern there 's a sack,
And, when the cash y'r pocket quits,
Jist hang the wallet on y'r back,—
You vagabond! see how it fits!

D' ye know what road to honor leads,
And good old age?—a lovely sight!
By way o' temperance, honest deeds,
And tryin' to do y'r dooty right.

And when the road forks, ary side,
And you 're in doubt which one it is,
Stand still, and let y'r conscience guide:
Thank God, it can't lead much amiss!

And now, the road to church-yard gate
You need n't ask! Go anywhere!
For, whether roundabout or straight,
All roads, at last, 'll bring you there.

Go, fearin' God, but lovin' more!—
I 've tried to be an honest guide,—
You 'll find the grave has got a door,
And somethin' for you t'other side.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN VIRGINIA.

AGAIN we are at Centreville; again ensconsed in the quarters that once sheltered the aggravated rebel General Joseph Johnston, Esq. The change that has come over the fortunes of the proprietor of the house is worthy of remark. A year ago he was rich in land and goods; now he is a fugitive in the interior; his land untilled, and his goods gone to that bourne, the Confederate pouch, from which nothing portable returns. A faithful servant states that he only went because Gen. Johnston was owing him a large sum of money for supplies and house-rent, and refused to pay, even in Confederate scrip, unless he cast his fortunes with the Confederate army. When we were here a few weeks ago, a few sons of this worthy gentleman, embryo F. F. V's., lay lazily upon the beds, the whole day through, playing poker for infinitessimally small antes, but contact with the Northern masses seems to have imbued them with a spirit of theft. They have now turned their father's mansion into a hotel, and sell execrable ham and suspicious eggs to hungry travellers, with as keen an eye to profit as any native of New England could evince under similar favorable circumstances. Of the slaves which appertained to the premises, the majority have taken a Northerly course of travel, and a sort of sea-change has come over the ideas of those that remain. The changed relations between master and chattel were curiously evidenced this evening, in a conversation we had with one of the young men. We missed "Aunt Polly," an old and favorite house servant, from her accustomed post in the kitchen. Inquiring for her whereabouts, we learned that she thought hotel keeping on a large scale too laborious a business, and had accordingly set up a small hostelry in the neighborhood on her own account. "Were your people accustomed to complain of the character and extent of their work in former days?" we asked. "No," was the reply, "but they say they are free now, and, if we work 'em too hard, they'll go North. But, if they do, and ever we get hold of 'em again"—here he applied to the whole Ethiopian race that rather harsh term, expressive of condemnation, that some clergymen and all firemen use—"we'll remember them for it." Aunt Polly, be it observed, is an old house servant, by whom her owner set immense store; she has been, so to speak, the very nitrigudinous pippin of his eye. I have repeatedly heard him declare he would not part with her for any consideration whatever. The chances are that he'd now part with her for no consideration at all. Aunt Polly, be it here remarked, is an institution of this dismantled burg; there is not now, in all Centreville society, a more prominent lady than she. This simply goes to show that all positions in life are relative ones, created by circumstances. Aunt Polly is, perhaps, the last lady of whom any knight of the steel pen, or, indeed, any other knight, would ever venture to sing the praises. It is true that her eyes are dark; her hair—dark, too—curls naturally, but her complexion, being darker than all the other features combined, utterly spoils the effect. But she is a most worthy soul, and loyal to the very marrow of her bones. A conversation ensued between her and one of her young masters, that very plainly showed which way her sympathies incline. "I tole you de Nordern soldiers would come back," she said; "I tole you dose forts was no 'count." "Yes," said he; "but you told me the Southern soldiers would come back, too, when father went away with them." "Dat because you cried, and I wanted to keep up your spirits," she replied.

As a specimen of the precious stories that are told to frighten contrabands into allegiance, the report is industriously circulated among them, that on reaching Washington they are sure to be seized and sold to defray the expenses of the war. There is another legend extant, of a contraband who, after months of faithful servitude to a Northern master, was paid off in pewter dollars. But the darkies turn incredulous ears to these flights of poetic fancy, and long processions of them may nightly be seen shaping their course by the Polar Star. Formerly, it will be remembered, the masters went North for the summer, now it is the slaves that make the healthful excursion. Think, too, of master and slave doing a lively opposition business in the hotel line, next door to each other. I am not at all ultra on the negro question. It would give me pain to see

"The gentle lady married to the Moor,
The heavenly Una with her milk-white lamb."

I am not in favor of marrying, or giving in marriage with our sable brethren. So strong are the prejudices of birth and education, that I could scarcely consent to see a gentleman wearing a closely-fitting suit of this natural livery placed on terms of social equality with myself; and I fancy that a lineal descendant of a long line of black princes, unless educated up to a tolerable point of endurance, would entertain similar prejudices against the most respectable white man that could be selected from our republican court, or the more aristocratic atmosphere of St. James. But I must confess to a peculiar pleasure in seeing the problem of emancipation working itself out so practically, and entirely dispensing with all tedious and vexatious legislation on the subject. Riches are proverbially said to take unto themselves wings, but it must rather astonish the mind and discompose the nerves of the capitalists of this section of the country, to see their wealth literally taking legs. Fancy how a Northern banker would feel to see a 1,000 treasury note walking coolly off. The interest, too, that the banker would lose—a mere seven per cent. per annum or so—is but a trifle in comparison to the gigantic loss involved in the other case; for the Virginian capitalists of this prolific region, I am told, expect their property to double itself at least once in ten years. The regret of the owners will probably be enhanced when they get advices from the families of their lost chattels, for it is but fair to infer that the latter will do better for themselves than they ever did for their masters.—*Cor. N. Y. Times.*

WHAT SHOULD BE.

THAT from the commencement of the rebellion to this hour the great mass of the slaveholders along the lines on which the nation and the rebels confront each other have been open or stealthy partisans of the rebellion, is a truth which no well-informed person can honestly deny. That the slaves have as generally been ardent, zealous, effective partisans of the Union, is equally undeniable. They have repeatedly saved our troops from disastrous surprises, and could have saved them still oftener had they been uniformly heeded. They have travelled through pitch-dark stormy nights, wading through bogs, and picking their way through bush and brier, to give precious though unsought and unrewarded information to our commanders. They have ferried our beaten and flying soldiers over rushing rivers at the risk of their lives. They have been whaled and gashed, and sometimes killed, by their rebel masters, in punishment of their devotion to the National cause. A bitter pro-slavery but loyal paper issued at Washington—*The Star*—gives the following incident that took place on the recent occupation of Tappahannock, Virginia, by a detachment of the army of the Potomac:

"When our men first landed, an old negro told them not to drink any liquor, *as it was all poisoned;* and on landing the second time, they were invited to drink by one of the inhabitants, but they very politely declined the invitation to do so."

Some of our Western Unionists are horrified at the idea of "negro testimony" being allowed and taken against whites; but we will warrant that any of them who was present on this occasion took it without a qualm!

More than a month ago—March 13th—Congress passed an act expressly forbidding the rendition of fugitive slaves by any person in the military or naval service of the United States. No act could be in terms more explicit or peremptory; yet we believe it has not yet been officially announced to the army, and we know many officers systematically defy it.

The Cincinnati Gazette says:

"The new law prohibiting our army from returning fugitive negroes has not been promulgated by order of the Commander-in-Chief, and in the absence of that is treated by the subordinate commanders as not in force. The business of returning fugitives is carried on with much zeal in in most of the army.

"The policy of the army toward the fugitive negroes is not a thing for which the Department or Division Commander can be justly blamed. They are undoubtedly acting on orders from the Commander-in-Chief, although there is a difference in zeal in executing them. The treatment of the population of the hostile territory by our advancing armies is too important a matter to be left to chance, or to subordinate officers. Fugitive negroes who bring information to our lines, and would render valuable aid, are being 'reenslaved' every day by our officers."

Thirteen days after the passage of the Act of Congress aforesaid, Gen. Hooker, commanding a United States division stationed in Maryland, on the Potomac below Washington, where the slaveholders are notoriously secessionists nearly or quite to a man, issued the following order:

HEADQUARTERS HOOKER'S DIVISION,
CAMP BAKER, Lower Potomac, March 26, 1862.

To Brigade and Regimental Commanders of this Division.

Messrs. Nally, Gray, Dunnington, Dent, Adams, Speake, Price, Posey and Coby, citizens of Maryland, have negroes supposed to be with some of the regiments of this division. The Brigadier-General commanding directs that they be permitted to visit all the camps of his command, in search of their property, and if found, that they be allowed to take possession of the same without any interference whatever. Should any obstacle be thrown in their way by any officer or soldier in the division, they will be at once reported by the regimental commanders to these headquarters.

By command of Brig.-Gen. HOOKER.
JOHN DICKINSON, Assistant Adjutant-General.

On the strength of that order, the slaveholders aforesaid and several others rode into the camp of Gen. Sickles's brigade, and commenced helping themselves to such blacks as they saw fit to claim as their slaves, one of them firing two pistol-shots at a negro who was running past. Gen. Sickles thereupon ordered them out of his camp as rioters, and they had to go. Usually, however, commanders are more complaisant, and let slave-catchers do just as they please.

We call, therefore, on the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States to take care that the act of March 13th is duly and promptly made officially known to his subordinates, and that they be required to obey it. If they are fighting for the supremacy of law, let them set an example of obedience to law.

Gen. Hooker has recently issued a fresh order which seems to ignore the act of August altogether. Hear him!

"Under no circumstances will officers or men having slaves owned in the secession States permit them to embark with them, but direct that they will be left at the depots, where they will be protected. It is in violation of the laws of the land to use them for private purposes, nor will those having slaves *owned in Maryland*, for this is pillage. By command of Brig.-Gen. JOS. HOOKER."

—This General knows—he cannot *help* knowing—that the great body of the Maryland slaveholders are profoundly disloyal; yet he takes no notice of that fact. "This is pillage," he says of the hiring of "slaves owned in Maryland" (no matter by whom) by our officers; but the law says no such thing. *We* think it is rather "pillage" to compel these poor blacks to work for nothing than to employ them at fair wages; but neither our judgment nor Gen. Hooker's is to be put in opposition to the law of the land.

The President of the United States is credibly reported to have said on a recent occasion that

"I am entirely satisfied that no slave who becomes for the time free within the American lines will ever be reenslaved. Rather than have it so, I would give up and abdicate."

These are noble words; but they need to be embodied (in substance) in the Army Order. The poor blacks who alone bring us tidings from within the rebel lines ought to have some assurance that this invaluable service will not be requited by turning them over to kidnappers, or surrendering them to be whaled to death as poor Jack Scroggins was by his humane and kind master, Cox. Let all who brave rebel shots, and evade rebel sentinels to bring our Generals important intelligence, know just what they may depend upon. The rebels tell them that we will sell them to Cuba, or otherwise repay their service by the blackest ingratitude. What is our answer?—*Tribune.*

THE SLAVES IN NORTH CAROLINA.

AN officer in a New England regiment, now on service with Burnside, writes to his father a letter, which we find in the Hartford *Press*, and from which we extract as follows:

I was in a negro house yesterday, and had some conversation with the inmates. I asked one gray-headed old negress if she had ever had children sold away from her. "Sold! Dey *all* sold! chil'en, and grandchil'en, and *great grandchil'en*, dey sell eb'ry one!" She clasped her bony hands over her head and looked up at me as she spoke—"Dere was one—de last one—de only grandchile I did hab lef'. He neber knowed his mammy. I took him when he *dat* little. I bringed him to Massa, and I say, "Massa, dis my little grandchile, may I keep him 'bout heah?" And he say, "I don't care what you do wid him." So I take him; he *dat little*. Den one mornin', when he all rolled up in blanket 'tween my knees, Massa Green com'd in and say, "Dis boy sold," and dey *take him 'way!* Oh, Lord Jesus, help me pray!"

I can't begin to do justice to the way in which she told me this, nor describe the earnestness of voice and gesture which made it impressive. I wish some of our Northern editors who cringe just as abjectly as ever before their old masters, and howl in such consternation whenever it seems likely that the war may interfere, directly or indirectly, with their pet deviltry—I wish some of them could have heard and seen her.

A few moments after, a stout negro man, apparently 25 or 26 years old, came in; he had an intelligent face, but a down-cast, dogged expression, as of a man who felt injustice. I asked him if the slaves of the vicinity considered themselves free, now that their masters were gone? "Well, they didn't quite know about that—some men said that by-and-bye they would all come back and take them again." His master, he said, was an officer in the rebel army. I told him he might be sure of one thing—that no slave would ever be returned to a master who had been in arms against us; that, whatever was done at the close of the war, *he* was safe, a *free man*, beyond all question. You ought to have seen his face light up. "De Lord grant it!" said he. I told him I hoped it would be so with all; that the objection made to it was, that the freed slaves would abuse their freedom, commit crimes, and at best be a good for nothing, idle set of vagabonds, and asked him if he thought that would be the case. "Well," he said, "there were bad men everywhere; some *would* be idle; but most of them, after working hard all their lives without encouragement, would work harder with an object before them." "*I* have been brought up to work," said he, "and I shouldn't feel easy without something to do. I know *I* can take care of myself," and he looked, as he said it, ten times the man that most of these Southern whites are, or ever will be. Had he ever tried to escape? No, he had a wife and child, and a man would do "right smart" before he would leave them.

I made further inquiries about the old woman's grandchild. He is now, it seems, somewhere near Raleigh. She seemed wonderfully comforted when I told her that we meant to go up there by-and-bye, and I hoped we should find him. She seemed to take it in the light of a promise, and I heard her, just before I went out, talking to herself, "Bress de Lord—bress de Lord! I shall see my grandchild again!" Poor old creature! I hope she won't be disappointed. I could fill pages with what these slaves said to me, but this is enough for a sample. The man was of more than average intelligence, unable, like all the rest, to read or write, but evidently one who *thought*, and felt deeply the wrong done to himself and his race.

It *can't be* but that this war will kill slavery; and if it does, cost what it will of our blood, and your tears, and every man's money, it won't be too much. Don't *you* think so? I *know* you do. Not that I've changed my ideas as to the ultimate object of the war; but I am more firmly convinced than ever, that the destruction of slavery is one of the means indispensable to that end.

H. W. C.

DIED—AGED 80.

Oh! softly wave the silver hair
From off that aged brow;
That crown of glory worn so long,
A fitting crown is now.
Fold reverently the weary hands,
That toiled so long and well;
And, while your tears of sorrow fall,
Let sweet thanksgivings swell.

That life-work, stretching o'er long years,
A varied web has been;
With silver strands by sorrow wrought,
And sunny gleams between.
* * * * * * *

These silver hairs stole softly on,
Like flakes of falling snow
That wrap the green earth lovingly
When autumn breezes blow.
Each silver hair, each wrinkle there,
Records some good deed done;
Some flower she cast along the way,
Some spark from love's bright sun.

How bright she always made her home!
It seemed as if the floor
Was always flecked with spots of sun,
And barred with brightness o'er.
The very falling of her step
Made music as she went;
A loving song was on her lip,
The song of full content.

And now, in later years, her word
Has been a blessed thing
In many a home, where glad she saw
Her children's children spring.
Her widowed life has happy been,
With brightness born of heaven;
So pearl and gold in drapery fold
The sunset couch at even.

Oh! swiftly fold the weary hands
That toiled so long and well;
The spirit rose to angel bands,
When off earth's mantle fell.
She's safe within her Father's house,
Where many mansions be;
Oh, pray that thus such rest may come,
Dear heart, to thee and me!

ANON.

GEN. HUNTER AND THE SLAVES.

MAJ.-GEN. HUNTER seems likely to make his Southern department thoroughly loyal, notwithstanding its inclusion of South Carolina. Wherever he advances the National flag the rebels either succumb or fly before it; and the following general order, one of the most important of the campaign, and issued at Fort Pulaski the day after the surrender of that important fortress, shows how the number of loyal freemen in the State is likely to be increased:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH,
FORT PULASKI, COCKSPUR ISLAND, GA.,
April 13, 1862.

All persons of color lately held to involuntary service by enemies of the United States, in Fort Pulaski and on Cockspur Island, Ga., are hereby confiscated and declared free, in conformity with law, and shall hereafter receive the fruits of their own labor. Such of said persons of color as are able-bodied, and may be required, shall be employed in the Quartermaster's Department, at the rates heretofore established by Brig.-Gen. T. W. Sherman. By command of Maj.-Gen. DAVID HUNTER.

CHAS. G. HALPINE, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Nor is this all. Gen. Hunter has addressed to Mr. Pierce, the Treasury Agent in charge of the abandoned Sea Island Plantations, a letter asking, among other things, for "the names of the former owners, and the number of persons formerly held to involuntary service," now in charge of the government agents. On receiving this information, we understand it to be the intention of Gen. Hunter to afford said owners a reasonable time to prove their fealty to the government, and then in case of their failure to do so, and upon sufficient proof of their treason, he will at once restore these slaves to freedom.

He has also requested to know of Mr. Pierce "the proportions in which food and cotton are being planted" on the lands in his charge. It has struck practical minds that the extensive planting of cotton by our government in South Carolina, is a mistake. It is an article of commerce, and subject to great risks of damage and destruction. Meantime, we are to support a large army in that region, as well as provide for the subsistence of the deserted contrabands themselves. In these circumstances, it has seemed a measure of wisdom to Gen. Hunter to direct all the negro labor not needed in the operations of the army, mainly to the raising of food for the support of the soldiers as well as the producers. In this way the army, during the summer, can be supplied with the esculent vegetables so essential to the health of Northern men in that climate, and the negroes with food of their own raising; and the government will be saved a certain heavy expense, and be relieved from the incurring of great commercial risks. Besides, the effect on the now dependent negroes will be such as to lessen that dependence in the future.

Thus, by the quiet operations of a benevolent and administrative mind, is Gen. Hunter unostentatiously solving questions which others seek to explain by discussion and theory. And if his operations, the legitimate fruits of military necessity in his department, shall be the means of impairing the vitality of slavery, the country will have reason to thank him for a policy which will secure in the future the peace which it is costing us so much now to restore.—*N. Y. Times.*

EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

BALTIMORE, April 14, 1862.

"THINGS are becoming quite complicated," said a slaveholding secessionist.

"They are in a fair way of becoming more so, or rather you secessionists will come to see the complications your course has brought about."

"But the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?"

"Can it be possible that you secessionists supposed you could prevent it in time of war?"

"But does the North imagine it can destroy slavery in the States?"

"Do you, gentlemen, think you can keep your millions of slaves in bondage in the midst of a conflict like this?"

"Why, as to that, I must confess, the task seems to be a hopeless one!"

"Then your question is answered."

This is the way people are thinking and talking in this slave-ridden city, and I take it, it is pretty much the same way everywhere else. Let discussion once have free course in the slave States, without the fear of mobs, and right will soon assert its sway.

I learn from good authority that Charles Carroll, grandson of the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and now in possession of the manor, hails the proposition of the President and Congress for compensated emancipation in this State with gladness and joy. He is the largest slaveholder in Maryland, with the exception, perhaps, of Edward Lloyd and one of the Hewletts. The slave population of his manor is some three hundred all told. He is a most humane master, and has told his slaves not to leave him, because the time would come when they would be free on their native soil, and that then he would employ them and pay them good wages for their labor.

Charles M. Tavish, also a grandson of the signer, owns some fifty slaves, and is in favor of the abolition of slavery in Maryland. He is, however, a staunch Republican, and spoke, acted and voted for Lincoln and Hamlin, amid the storm of obloquy which some two thousand others dared to brave at the peril of their lives, and who continue to be living witnesses in favor of Republican principles in a slave State. Republicanism in slave land is necessarily synonymous with hostility to slavery, and if the witnesses for the Chicago platform had been sustained in this State it would now be Republican.

You will notice that Leary, Crisfield and Webster, of the Maryland delegation in Congress, dodged the vote on the emancipation bill for the District of Columbia. This means more than meets the eye. These gentlemen have shown a clear appreciation of the future on the subject of slavery in this State. They see that it is speedily doomed, and they have rightly refused to let their voices be heard against the extinction of the curse at the National Capital. Mr. Crisfield has one hundred slaves, and represents the Lower District on the Eastern shore, and he is now in a position to lead the rising anti-slavery hosts that are already beginning to stir in our State. This is also true of Messrs. Webster and Leary, though I believe they are not large slaveholders.

The vote of May and Calvert does not surprise anybody; it would have been a miracle for either of these persons to vote for liberty to the slave anywhere; but the vote of Frank Thomas against the bill grieves and shames his Republican friends in this State. His bold and manly stand against the rebel cause and its corner stone, slavery, at the Front street theatre in this city last fall, just one year after the Republicans were mobbed in the same house by the very men who applauded him to the skies, had won the heart of every anti-slavery man in Maryland, and we looked to him to carry our standard forward in the future; but shortly after Congress met in December he began to waver, and all through the winter and spring he was found voting with the pro-slavery side of the House on every question that looked to the real suppression of the rebellion, and he now has enrolled his name among the thirty-nine upholders of slavery at the